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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2525th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 30 March 1984, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Javier ARIAS STELLA (Peru).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2525)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 29 March 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16449)

The meeting was called to order at 4.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 29 March 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16449)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Guyana and Honduras, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sinclair (Guyana) and Mr. Flores Bermúdez (Honduras) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The Council is meeting today in response to a request contained in the letter dated 29 March 1984 from the representative of Nicaragua to the President of the Security Council (S/16449). The first speaker is the representative of Nicaragua, upon whom I now call.

3. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Recently, Sir, I had an opportunity to express to you our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of March. On this occasion we should like to thank you for the diligent manner in which you have convened this meeting. The fact that you are a distinguished Latin American, a son of the fraternal people of Peru, guarantees a full understanding of the circumstances in the Central American region at the present time, which seriously threaten international peace and security. We are sure that you, better than anyone else, understand the basic origins of the crisis in our region: the oppression, exploitation and poverty that history has visited upon the Latin American peoples.

4. It was really not our intention to convene the Council only two months after having already done so; nor had we intended to do so on four earlier occasions in 1982 and 1983. Regrettably, however, the criminal, cowardly war being waged by a major Power against our people has made this necessary. That Administration, notwithstanding our constant efforts to bring about peace among the fraternal peoples of Central America, has continued to aim its efforts at the destruction of our revolution and of our country in general.

5. Today, once again, we have come to denounce further acts of aggression which, owing to their level of sophistication, the equipment used and techniques employed, represent a qualitative leap forward in the covert operations against our people.

6. We have come here with confidence and certainty because the international community's expressions of concern and repudiation in debates and resolutions on this subject have in fact contributed to avoiding a confrontation with unpredictable consequences in our region. We have come here in the hope that the international community's rejection will prevent a future of desolation and death following in the wake of acts of aggression against our country. Finally, we have come here so that the international community's outcry, together with Nicaragua's devotion to peace and the efforts of the so-called Contadora Group, will lead the peoples of the region along the path of peace and prosperity.

7. Regrettably, the international community's efforts, as expressed in the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Contadora Group and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, have not been sufficient to prevent resort to military solutions in the region. Although those efforts have prevented a regional war, they have not been able to prevent crimes against Nic-

aragua which cause concern and alarm in our country, because we are a peace-loving people.

8. May I ask the international community if the Nicaraguan people's alarm is not justified in the face of the increased military presence of the United States in a Central American country which it has turned into a "hired" republic where it is building an infrastructure for aggression. May I ask the international community whether the Nicaraguan people are not justifiably alarmed at the large-scale military manoeuvres which have been going on uninterruptedly, with changes of name only, in the territories and waters of Central America and the waters of the Caribbean. May I ask the international community if the Nicaraguan people are not justifiably alarmed at the criminal mining of their ports, which endangers international navigation and makes explicit the economic blockade begun a number of years ago. May I also ask the international community if the Nicaraguan people are not justifiably alarmed at the constant efforts of the American Administration to obtain funds necessary to finance the mercenaries of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

9. Regrettably, the shortsightedness and lack of political vision of the present American Administration, together with the historical failure to understand the realities of Nicaragua, continually lead it astray in its analyses while its mistakes become ever more dangerous. They believe that our alarm and concern at their crimes will make us willing to negotiate; instead our fighting spirit has only been increased and our anti-imperialism and determination have made us willing to fight to the death, whether against them or their puppets, in the war against our national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

10. The American military presence is in its new "land aircraft carrier", bought a few years ago, the name of which is not *America* or *The New Jersey* but "*The Honduras*". It is not an invention of the Nicaraguan Government; it is a palpable reality which has been amply proved by the American information media and other sources. According to information that we have, the present United States military presence in the fraternal Republic of Honduras may be summed up as follows.

11. There are 150 men of the Green Beret special forces battalion in charge of training counterinsurgency forces and classical infantry among Hondurans and Salvadorians in a special military training centre in Puerto Castilla, department of Colón. There are 150 men of the Tactical Air Command in charge of the functioning and management of the Ule Ridge radar station, Department of Francisco Morazán. One hundred men of the special combat group from the naval base at Norfolk, Virginia, are in charge of the management and operation of the Tigre Ridge radar base. There are 600 men from the Engineer Battalion of Fort Bragg, North Carolina, in charge of enlarging the runways in San Lorenzo, El Aguacate, Puerto Lempira and Palmerola, and during the Granadero I manoeuvres they will expand and rebuild the runways in Jamastrán, department of El Paraiso, Comayagua, department of Copán; and La Florida. Nine hundred men from 43 support groups in Palmerola are at present helping prepare the Granadero I manoeuvres. Fifty men of the Rapid Deployment Command from McDiel, Florida, are in Palmerola, in charge of direction and control of the operations of the joint Honduras-United States exercises. There are 480 men from the 101st Aviation Battalion located in Palmerola, Comayagua, who will give air support to the Granadero I manoeuvres, as they did in the Ahuas Taras II manoeuvres. There are 134 CIA agents in charge of giving support and advice and directing the actions of their mercenaries and of the Nicaraguan counter-revolution. Three hundred men from the 224th Military Intelligence Battalion of Fort Stewart, Georgia, with 12 Mohawk QU-1 aircraft and seven N/D helicopters are carrying out reconnaissance flights in Salvadorian and Honduran airspace in support of the Southern Command activities.

12. The American military presence in Honduras has not been only in the form of sending United States military personnel; there has also been the building and expanding of military facilities.

13. We shall not use our own words to describe the intentions of imperialism and its puppets. What better way to unmask their objectives than to quote the very words of the Senator from Tennessee, a member of the Military Construction Sub-Committee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Jim Sasser.

> "The facilities that have already been built or that it is planned to build in Honduras will make it easier to carry out a war in the region. Those facilities could in fact serve to encourage Honduran military commanders to attempt a military solution to their political and diplomatic problems with Nicaragua."

14. The Honduran military infrastructure has been modified since the beginning of Honduran-United States military manoeuvres in 1981. Fourteen military bases and runways have been remodelled or expanded in six Honduran departments.

15. During the Granadero I manoeuvres planned for April, United States military engineers will expand two more runways, at Cucuyagua and Jamastrán in Copán and El Paraiso departments bordering on El Salvador and Guatemala. They will also build three troop-training centres and will install complex 40-channel satellite-communications equipment at the Palmerola base.

16. Already under construction in the Honduran province of El Valle are barricades against armoured vehicles, as well as radar stations. The highway from Mocorón to Puerto Lempira is being remodelled and expanded, as is the highway from Los Trojes to Cifuentes. Those highways border the Jalapa valley in Nic-

araguan territory, which has been a priority objective of the counter-revolutionary and mercenary forces operating in Honduras.

17. United States military assistance to Honduras has increased significantly since 1980. In 1980 it amounted to $3.7 million, and it increased to approximately $40 million in 1983. This year, 1984, $41 million has been approved, and the Reagan Administration has requested the appropriation of an additional $37 million in assistance.

18. Furthermore, as part of its advice and military training, the United States has sent Honduras 89 mobile training groups, 40 Huey helicopters, six T-28 planes, nine A-37 planes, 11 landing-craft, 10 "Pinaña" speedboats, 24 howitzers and, in this year only, more than 30 tons of war material, including thousands of M-16 rifles, ammunition, uniforms and camping equipment. It is important to point out that all the military equipment being transported to Honduras in the joint military manoeuvres with the United States is left in that country as a gift and is not counted in the assistance budget approved through normal channels.

19. Furthermore, the various naval and military manoeuvres and exercises being carried out by the armies of the United States and Honduras throughout this period and aimed, as they themselves admit, at intimidating the Sandinist popular revolution and the Central American revolutionary movement, and the building of military bases and training centres for the Salvadorian army and the counter-revolutionary gangs all reveal the interventionist policy of the United States in our region.

20. The joint United States-Honduras military and naval exercises, Big Pine II, which lasted seven months, are but one expression of the military involvement of the United States in Honduras in the past four years. After the spectacular end of those manoeuvres, a whole military infrastructure remained behind, practically turning Honduras into a country under military occupation. Approximately 5,500 United States troops took part in the exercises on land, with the assistance of the United States Navy and Air Force, which raised to almost 15,000 the number of troops in the area.

21. Once the Big Pine II manoeuvres were completed, the United States did not hesitate to reveal its intention to continue to consolidate its military presence in Honduras. Commander Arnie Schossboy, stationed in the Southern Command, in the Panama Canal Zone, said, "Plans exist to continue military exercises until 1988."

22. As a further demonstration of its military force with the clear objective of intimidation, and seeking results favourable to its interventionist policy in El Salvador, Reagan Administration officials said that the United States will carry out further small-scale military manoeuvres in Honduras, beginning in March and concluding in June. Small land units of the United States Army, made up of 100 to 200 soldiers, will be deployed in regions of Honduras very close to the borders with Nicaragua and with El Salvador, and what we might call mini-manoeuvres will be going on on a permanent basis.

23. Indeed, both in Central America and in the Caribbean, the United States, starting in April, will carry out the largest military manoeuvres ever held in Central America's territory and waters, as well as in the Caribbean Sea. It will even try to involve other countries of the area and thus attempt to exceed its performance in the past when it made notorious use of its well-known puppets. In these Granadero I and Ocean Venture II manoeuvres, thousands of United States soldiers will be mobilized on our region's lands and waters, as well as hundreds of combat planes, including B-52 bombers, and dozens of warships. In addition, on this occasion manoeuvres in Honduran territory will be carried out not only in areas close to the Nicaraguan border, but also in areas close to the El Salvador border.

24. As an immediate result of the massive and permanent United States military presence in Honduras, there has been an accelerated increase in the military operations of the CIA mercenaries from bordering territories, especially Honduras, where they have the unconditional support of the army and the Government of the country.

25. That, in turn, has resulted in the proliferation of counter-revolutionary bases and camps in neighbouring territories, where training and resupplying is going on systematically. I wish to make clear to the members of the Council that my Government will continue to believe in the good intentions of the Government of Costa Rica and in its constant and active neutrality, and, for that reason, we maintain our understanding that the camps located in its territory do not have the official support of its Government but that, on the contrary, it is the CIA and its mercenaries that are trying to create political problems between our two countries. We hope that the two peoples and Governments, with the necessary maturity and independence, will be able to contribute to a relaxation of the tensions in the area and to an improvement in our bilateral relations, thereby promoting peace and progress in Central America.

26. On the other hand, we are absolutely certain that our region is now in a particularly critical and difficult period and that at any time this could lead to a conflict with serious consequences. That is why, in order to alert the international community, I shall now give a detailed list of the location of these various camps in Honduran territory and shall describe the specific acts of aggression of which we have been the victim since the last Council meeting on this subject [*2513th meeting*], early in February.

27. There are now 15 counter-revolutionary camps in Honduran territory being used by the CIA to train its

Somozist mercenaries against our country, all along the border with Nicaragua. I shall now read out the list of those camps.

28. First, there is the "Las Tunas" camp, located 11 kilometres to the west of El Espino in Honduran territory; it has 200 counter-revolutionaries. Second, there is the "Cerro Las Uvitas" camp, 13 kilometres to the north of Santo Tomás del Norte in Honduran territory, with 300 counter-revolutionaries. Third, there is the "Cacamuya" camp, which is 15 kilometres to the south of El Espino in Honduran territory and has 100 counter-revolutionaries. Fourth, there is the "Santa Rita" camp, 9 kilometres to the south of El Espino in Honduran territory; it has 300 counter-revolutionaries. The fifth camp is called "Las Dificultades". It is 1 kilometre to the north of the town of Las Dificultades in Honduran territory, and it has 200 counter-revolutionaries. Sixth, there is the "La Lodoza" camp, which is 17 kilometres to the north of the village of San Fernando in Honduran territory and has 200 counter-revolutionaries. Seventh, there is the "San José" camp, 13 kilometres to the north of the village of San Fernando in Honduran territory, with 500 counter-revolutionaries. The eighth camp is called "Nubarrones". It is 13 kilometres to the west of Jalapa in Honduran territory and has 250 counter-revolutionaries. Ninth, there is the "Las Mercedes" camp. It is 1 kilometre to the north of Trojes in Honduran territory and has 60 counter-revolutionaries. Tenth, there is the "Quebrada de Oro" camp, 22 kilometres north-east of Jalapa in Honduran territory, with 700 counter-revolutionaries. Eleventh, there is the "Buena Vista" camp, located 19 kilometres to the north-east of Jalapa in Honduran territory, with 110 counter-revolutionaries. The twelfth camp is the "Las Vegas" camp. It is 2 kilometres to the north of the mouth of the Poteca river in Honduran territory and has 200 counter-revolutionaries. Thirteenth, there is the "Banco Grande" camp, 39 kilometres north-east of the village of Murra in Honduran territory, with 570 counter-revolutionaries. The fourteenth camp is called "Rus Rus". It is located 35 kilometres to the north-west of the village of Leymus in Honduran territory and has 300 counter-revolutionaries. Fifteenth, there is the "Auka" camp, 27 kilometres to the north-east of Waspán in Honduran territory, with 100 counter-revolutionaries.

29. I think it is worth pointing out that the names I have just read out are not unknown to the diplomatic missions to the United Nations; on various occasions the United States press has accurately reported about this.

30. I shall now summarize the acts of aggression committed against Nicaragua in the period between 4 February and 29 March 1984.

31. On 4 February, a group of counter-revolutionaries and members of the Honduran army attacked, from Honduran territory, the border port of La Tablazón, 5 kilometres to the north of Dipilto. On 12 February, two fast launches of the Piraña type, coming from Honduran territory, launched a 15-minute attack against Punta San José, in the Chinandega department. On 14 February, a counter-revolutionary group of undetermined size, coming from Honduran territory, harassed the border village of Santo Tomás del Nance, in the Chinandega department, for 10 minutes and sabotaged an electric power station, leaving the village without any electricity. On 16 February, a group of 30 members of the Honduran army, using M-60 machine guns, 81-mm mortars and rifles, attacked the village of Las Papayas, 2 kilometres to the north of El Espino. On 24 February, members of the Honduran army harassed the village of El Ranchón, located 5 kilometres to the north-west of Cinco Pinos in the Chinandega department. No damage was reported. On the same day, two fast launches of an undetermined type tried to penetrate close to the fuel storage facilities at El Bluff, in the Zelaya department, but were driven off by our troops. The enemy withdrew in a southerly direction. On 29 February, a counter-revolutionary group of undetermined size harassed the frontier posts of San Juan del Norte, on our southern border. On the same day, members of the Honduran army used small-arms fire to harass the border post of La Ceiba, located 5 kilometres to the west of Somotillo, in the Chinandega department.

32. On 1 March, a counter-revolutionary group harassed from Honduran territory the frontier post of Leymus, in northern Zelaya. On 3 March, members of the Honduran army launched a 15-minute attack on the frontier post of La Ceiba. On the same day, an olive-drab helicopter flew over the port of Potosí, in the Chinandega department, at an altitude of approximately 1,000 metres, attacking its installations with six rockets. No material or human damage was reported. Also on 3 March, two *Pescasa* motorized vessels came into contact with mines near El Bluff. On 3 March, 50 Honduran army troops attacked the frontier post of Las Minitas, three kilometres north-east of Somotillo, in the department of Chinandega.

33. On 5 March, two Piraña speedboats raided the Potosí sector of the department of Chinandega, with undetermined air support and an artillery launch, which opened fire on Sandinist naval vessels moored there, wounding six comrades and killing one; and an undetermined number of counter-revolutionary troops attacked from Honduran territory the villages of Leymus and Waspán in northern Zelaya.

34. On 6 March, two Cessna aeroplanes flew from Honduras and attacked the frontier post of Leymus in northern Zelaya; Honduran army troops launched a 20-minute attack on the frontier post of El Naranjo, five kilometres north-west of Somotillo in the department of Chinandega; counter-revolutionary elements and Honduran army troops attacked, with small arms and 81-mm mortar fire, the community of Vado Ancho, one kilometre south of Santo Tomás del Norte, causing the death of an 11-month-old girl; and two Piraña speed-

boats attacked the military unit stationed at Montelimar in the department of Managua and then withdrew to the South.

35. On 7 March, two speedboats, with helicopter support, attacked the Sandinist naval unit and the frontier post at San Juan del Sur with cannon fire, small arms fire and four rockets. On 8 March, the Panamanian vessel *Norcaribe* hit a mine in the port of Corinto and was seriously damaged. On 9 March, an undetermined number of Somozist mercenaries based in Honduran territory in the San Jerónimo sector, in co-ordination with Honduran army troops, attacked, with mortars and various kinds of small arms fire, the military installations at El Naranjo, four kilometres north of Somotillo.

36. On 10 March, a 10-man Honduran army patrol waged a five-minute attack against the La Reforma observation post, five kilometres north-west of Somotillo; and a group of approximately 30 to 40 Somozist mercenaries, jointly with Honduran army troops, waged a one-hour attack with AK and FAL rifles against the La Minita observation post, three kilometres north-west of Somotillo.

37. On 11 March, a group of Somozist mercenaries, of undetermined size and originating from Honduran territory, attempted to sabotage the Villanueva electric substation, 10 kilometres south-west of Somotillo, by firing RPG-7 rocket launchers. They neither hit their target nor caused any damage.

38. On 12 March, a group of mercenaries, also of undetermined size and originating from Honduran territory, destroyed with explosives several electric power pylons two kilometres north-west of Somotillo, subsequently returning to Honduras.

39. On 25 March, an undetermined number of Honduran troops attacked, from Honduran territory, Sandinist People's Army units five kilometres south-west of Somotillo, firing forty 81-mm mortar shells; and combined Honduran army and counter-revolutionary forces based on Honduran territory carried out an artillery and mortar attack against the Nicaraguan community of La Ceiba, five kilometres north-west of Somotillo.

40. On 27 March, 30 Honduran army troops attacked, with small-arms fire and from Honduran territory, a Sandinist People's Army patrol passing through the Loma de los Pastores sector, one kilometre south of Santo Tomás del Nance in the department of Chinandega; and in the naval sector of Corinto two Piraña-type speedboats from Honduran waters attacked a Nicaraguan coast guard vassel on patrol off the port of Corinto. At the time of the attack two aircraft overflew the area with their lights extinguished. As a result of this criminal attack, two sailors were wounded, and at present one of them is in critical condition.

41. On 28 March, the Panamanian freighter *Homin No. 7* was attacked with 50-mm guns by a Piraña speedboat from Honduras. On 6.50 p.m. on that same day, the fishing boat *Aracely Pérez* struck a mine in Corinto and sustained serious damage to its stern.

42. On 29 March, two Piraña-type speedboats attempted to lay mines along the Pacific coast but were taken by surprise and driven off by Nicaraguan coast guard vessels, which hit one of them, setting it on fire. At 5.00 a.m. on that same day, an undetermined number of Honduran troops, operating from Honduran territory, attacked Catarina sector, three kilometres from La Ceiba. They also harassed the La Ceiba observation post, five kilometres from Somotillo, with various artillery and 81-mm mortar fire. Fortunately, there were no casualties to mourn. Also on 29 March counter-revolutionary groups operating from Honduras attacked and sabotaged Salto Grande in the Bonanza sector of northern Zelaya, damaging an electricity-generating dam and thus harming the economy of the Miskito population. They were subsequently driven off by our forces; several counter-revolutionaries were killed or wounded and the remainder fled towards Wuapuc territory in Honduras. Also on the same date, two Nicaraguan fishing boats in Corinto harbour were seriously damaged after hitting two mines.

43. On 30 March—today, that is—at 5.50 a.m., there was an explosion in Corinto, between Buoys One and Two. The Nicaraguan vessel *Alma Sultana*, which was engaged in dredging, was seriously damaged as a result; two reservist comrades were wounded and a member of the Sandinist People's Army was killed.

44. This detailed account reveals not only the presence of and increase in military camps in Honduran territory, but also the aggression, attacks and violations of our territory, our air space and our territorial waters. We have presented it because we consider it very important that the international community be made aware of the factors which constitute this new phase of the aggression.

45. First of all, attacks and other incidents have been taking place daily against our borders and against our ports. Secondly, we are aware of increasingly direct participation in these attacks by the Honduran army, whether acting alone or in support of the counter-revolutionary groups. Thirdly, it is important to emphasize the use of sophisticated equipment, both aircraft and boats, which far exceeds the technical capacity of not just the mercenaries and counter-revolutionary elements but also of the Honduran Army. Consequently, this implies an increasingly significant involvement of the great Power to the north—the United States.

46. Barely two weeks ago the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries adopted a communiqué [*S/16422, annex*] recalling the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [*see*

S/15675 and Corr.1 and 2, annex], held at New Delhi in March 1983, which denounced the threats and acts of intimidation and aggression against Nicaragua, the utilization of the territory of foreign countries in and outside the region as bases for aggression and the training of counter-revolutionary forces and the commission of terrorist actions and sabotage. It also expressed its profound concern over the new escalation of such actions and condemned the laying of mines in the ports of Nicaragua, stating further its firm opposition to any measure designed to blockade any country of the region.

47. When that communiqué was adopted at United Nations Headquarters, here in New York, a number of incidents had already taken place which, apart from causing casualties and substantial material damages, had endangered international navigation.

48. These grave incidents arising from the indiscriminate mining of our ports and the combination of air and sea attacks against those ports and other economic and military targets, under the guidance and with the financing and logistic support of the CIA, began, as I have pointed out, on 25 February, when a Piraña-type launch from El Bluff, on the Nicaraguan Atlantic coast, scattered a number of mines which, the next day, caused the sinking of the Nicaraguan motor vessel *Pescasa 15*, wounding two comrades. The next day, the motor vessel *Pescasa 23* hit two mines and was totally destroyed, with nine comrades wounded and two others missing.

49. On 1 March this indiscriminate mining of our ports also began to affect vessels of other nationalities. A Dutch dredging vessel, *Geoponte VI*, which was carrying out dredging operations in the port of Corinto under Dutch Government financing granted to the Government of Nicaragua, was damaged from the blast of an underwater explosion. This explosion resulted in four wounded, among them two Dutch workers, and the loss of more than $1 million for the Dutch company. On 7 March the freighter *Los Caribes*, of Panamanian registry, was damaged by a mine explosion as it was leaving the port of Corinto, causing injuries to a number of Mexican and Panamanian sailors.

50. While we were still alerting the international community to the gravity of these incidents, and no more than 13 days after the Non-Aligned Movement had condemned such acts, the Soviet vessel *Lugansk*, which was transporting petroleum to our country, upon entering the port of Sandino was seriously damaged by the explosion of a mine with which it had come into contact. As a result, five Soviet sailors were injured, adding to the list of Dutch, Mexican and Central American sailors who had previously been innocent victims of these acts of sabotage carried out by the American Administration against the Nicaraguan Government through covert operations currently being publicly discussed in the United States Senate.

51. One week after that incident, on 28 March, the vessel *Inderchaser*, of Liberian registry, hit a mine while leaving the port of Corinto, causing it to explode. Nicaraguan authorities are now assessing the damaged sustained by that vessel.

52. Yesterday, as I have already mentioned, two Nicaraguan vessels in the harbour of Corinto were seriously damaged when they hit two mines. Fortunately, on that occasion there were no casualties; however, both vessels were virtually destroyed.

53. In addition to irreparable loss of human life and extensive material damage, these actions have had grave consequences for Nicaraguan international trade. A number of freighters of various nations have decided not to unload merchandise in the port of Corinto and, instead, do so in Puerto Caldera, in Costa Rica, thus jeopardizing normal loading and off-loading operations in our country.

54. This strategy of terror involving the use of T-28 aircraft and high-speed Piraña boats, as well as the mining of our territorial waters, which reflects a turning-point in the methods of the "covert war" being waged against our country, is the most tangible example of the State terror that has been unleashed by the current United States Government against our people and Government. This is a violation of the most elementary norms of international law, which must be faithfully respected by all States—particularly when the State involved is a great Power and a permanent member of the Security Council.

55. The increasingly brazen use of State terrorism by the United States Government, through the CIA, means that it has run out of pretexts against our revolution and also lost all hope it had placed in its mercenaries and its Somozist counter-revolutionaries, whom it has, without success, for months and months supported to the tune of millions of dollars, even taking that money from its own people.

56. The latest actions suggest to us that the Reagan Administration intends to proceed with a military blockade of Nicaragua. The international community has the responsibility to restrain a Government which, abusing its economic and military power, is resorting ever more openly to force to resolve international conflicts, under pretexts that are as implausible as they are dangerous.

57. Moreover, not content with the damages it has inflicted on our people, the Reagan Administration is planning to increase its military assistance to its freedom fighters, who every day kill men, women, elderly persons and children in my country. Two weeks ago that Administration announced its decision to appropriate $21 million for the CIA mercenaries, thus fully disclosing not just its determination to press ahead with realizing its criminal plans against Nicaragua, but also its indifference to and disregard for the American peo-

ple, international public opinion and the peace-making efforts of the Contadora Group. Those $21 million would be obtained by cutting that amount from a bill intended to provide $200 million to impecunious American senior citizens and to improve the already precarious situation of the country's elderly, thus showing that the Administration is prepared to sacrifice its own citizens to its warmongering policy and the attainment of its military options.

58. The international community cannot remain passive in face of the buildup of the United States military presence in El Salvador, where by its interference it is preventing a reasonable political solution to the civil war in that fraternal country, a solution that would help get to the bottom of the region's crisis. Recently the Non-Aligned Movement, concerned over the deterioration of the conflict owing to continued foreign intervention, expressed its hope that it would cease and appealed to those involved to adopt a constructive position and to refrain from providing military assistance that might impede that process.

59. Unfortunately, even though it might have been expected, the United States reply continues to be the building up of its military presence in that country. In the last few days it has tightened its military grip around El Salvador. Let me give a few brief examples. It has sent the aircraft carriers *America* and *John F. Kennedy* to the Atlantic and the Pacific; it has stationed 2,500 soldiers along the frontier between Honduras and El Salvador; it has mounted counter-insurgent agents in the north-east strip of El Salvador. It is continuing with its $1-million-a-day military aid which serves only to add to the long and painful list of more than 50,000 Salvadorian deaths, and it has increased its spy overflights. With regard to those spy flights, we have all been informed today by *The New York Times* that American officials accept that this sort of thing has been going on for some time in order to facilitate the military efforts of the Salvadorian army.

60. The false democratic facade that the United States has sought to give the so-called elections in El Salvador can but make the situation there more difficult and complex. Mr. Reagan's sole objective is to be able to justify the military assistance buildup, but let Mr. Reagan not believe that El Salvador is Grenada, or that by sending in his Marines he can win a victory like the pyrrhic victory obtained in Grenada.

61. The only reasonable solution for the Salvadorian people which the international community is aware of, and on which various democratic Governments have already expressed their views, is a dialogue between all the representative forces, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) and the Government, which should have as its object the formation of a broadly representative national government. We thus urge the international community and, in particular, the Contadora Group to lend their good offices for the attainment of this object.

62. The Contadora Group has continued in its efforts in its quest for peace in the region. However, the Group's hard work has been seriously impeded because, consistent with their friends in the north, certain Central American countries have refused to enter into concrete commitments that would once and for all remove the spectre of war which has afflicted the region in recent years. Moreover, the main obstacle to the Contadora Group's efforts and the quest for peace is the United States Government.

63. The height of cynicism is the fact that President Reagan's new special envoy to Central America, before setting off for our region recently said that there was, on the one hand, no incompatibility between the military activities of the United States in the region and the pressures on Nicaragua and, on the other, the activities of the Contadora Group. He went on to add that Contadora was a Latin American initiative and that security problems required another kind of response, namely, the kind of support that the United States Administration intends to lend Contadora.

64. The special envoy holds out peace laurels in one hand while brandishing the sword of war in the other. This is the cynical statement of an official, but it clearly reflects the American position in the sense of not only not taking seriously the peace-making efforts of the Contadora Group, but of impeding those efforts.

65. It was our full understanding of the situation that led Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, Co-ordinator of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, to make an emergency trip recently to the fraternal Republic of Mexico, where he requested of President de la Madrid implementation of urgent and exceptional measures by the Contadora Group to prevent war in Central America. It was also that same concern and same devotion to peace on the part of Nicaragua which prompted our sending missions to the other Contadora countries—that is, Colombia, Panama and Venezuela—as well as to other countries of the region.

66. My country believes that the efforts to achieve agreement in the region only among the Central American countries, without taking into account the United States, could lead us to a possible failure of the already difficult negotiations that have been taking place in the Contadora Group. Peace in Central America requires as a *sine qua non* the clear and definitive commitment of the United States, which so far, besides pretending to be a mere spectator in the region's crisis, has in fact brought to bear all kinds of political pressures to prevent a genuine, just and lasting solution to the conflicts of the region. Furthermore, not content with that and contrary to the utterances of the Contadora Group, it has stepped up its dirty, undeclared war against my country through the CIA mercenaries and has significantly increased its military presence in the area.

67. In an interview published in *The New York Times*, the President of the United States replied to the ques-

tion of how one could explain or justify United States support for people who are trying to overthrow a Government with which the United States has diplomatic relations, saying:

> "I see no contradiction between our support for the democratic Government of El Salvador and the contras. We have told Nicaragua very clearly that this would stop when they fulfil their promise, restore democracy and hold elections. Now pressure has compelled them to say that they will hold elections, apparently next November. But so far there is nothing to indicate that the elections will be anything other than 'rubber stamp' elections, which characterize all totalitarian Governments."

68. In this way, Mr. Reagan seeks to appoint himself legislator, judge and hangman with regard to the entire internal political life of a country. Consequently, he is acting as an international outlaw. His conduct is in the mould of what is known in current international doctrine as "State terrorism". My country reserves the right to do whatever it deems fit to demand in due course the compensation that in justice should properly be accorded to it for the devastation and killings resulting from the criminal policy of this international terrorist. In the mean time, we request this supreme body to take the necessary immediate action to stop war in Central America, because it has the competence and the responsibility.

69. Before I conclude my statement I should like to ask the representative of the United States—as she is one of the most eminent and closest collaborators of the current Administration—to explain to me what moral authority is possessed by Mr. Reagan, who, it should be remembered, was elected in 1980 by less than 30 per cent of the United States electorate, to demand that we should introduce in Nicaragua political system X or political system Y. Moreover, what right does he have to try to do so by brute force, reverting to the era of gunboat diplomacy and the big stick?

70. I should also like the United States representative to explain to me who appointed President Reagan as the champion of liberty and the guardian of democracy, and who authorized him to establish the parameters determining the concepts of democracy and freedom, which in his case, however, cover a wide range, starting in El Salvador and ending in South Africa.

71. I should also be glad if the representative of the United States would explain to me on what basis President Reagan seeks to appoint himself a defender of human rights in the world, when there are grave social imbalances in his own country, despite its being a great economic Power, when the Hispanic and black minorities in that country are third-class citizens, treated with contempt, and when beggars sleep at night in the streets of Manhattan near the manhole covers to protect themselves against the harsh winter.

72. I wish only to remind President Reagan that it would be good for his Administration to reconsider its errors and, having given them serious thought, to act with the maturity that should properly characterize the rulers of an empire such as that of the United States, thus steering the world away from a holocaust with incalculable consequences.

73. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): Once again the Security Council has been called into session to hear a complaint by the Government of Nicaragua against the Government of the United States. By now the Council must be quite familiar with the thrust of the Nicaraguan complaint, it having been put before this body in one form or another on some six occasions over the past two years. The details change, but the substance of the complaint remains essentially the same—that Nicaragua is the peaceable, innocent victim of an aggression that is orchestrated by, if not carried out by, the United States. Previously it had in fact been suggested, last year and the year before, that the United States was just on the verge of a massive military invasion of Nicaragua. That charge is absent this year, but the essence of the complaint has changed little beyond that important specific.

74. It is probably not surprising that the Nicaraguan complaint comes before the Council in the wake of the elections in neighbouring El Salvador—that happened in March 1982 as well. It happens virtually every time we have a debate on Central American policy in the United States Congress.

75. The Marxist-Leninist Government in Nicaragua cannot have been happy with the election in El Salvador. Indeed, we have just heard the representative of Nicaragua suggest that the elections in El Salvador only make the situation more difficult and complex. One must ask: difficult for whom, complex for what?

76. The Nicaraguan Government itself promised democracy, national independence and self-determination to the people of Nicaragua before that Government came to power. Its members made those promises in writing; they made them in public arenas; they made solemn pledges as they sought help from the Organization of American States (OAS), from the United States and from their neighbours. And, indeed, Sandinists received help from the OAS, from the United States and from Nicaragua's neighbours in their efforts to overthrow the dictatorship headed by Anastasio Somoza. It is interesting that today, as last year and the year before, the Government of Nicaragua, which sought and received help from those regional groups and those neighbours, does not appeal to those regional groups and those neighbours in the hemisphere to help it with its current problems. Could it be because they are too well informed?

77. Nicaragua began the process of militarization and the introduction of foreign advisers in Central America. Nicaragua began the process of destabilization of its

neighbours. I have no interest today in laying all the facts of these matters before the Council. The Council is presumably familiar with most of them. I would just point out, concerning the process of militarization of Central America, which was begun by the Government of Nicaragua, that today Nicaragua continues to increase its army and its stores of weapons. It now has some 107,000 persons under arms, including the army, the reserves and the militia. It continues to receive weapons from diverse places in the Soviet bloc, augmenting an already formidable arsenal of tanks, heavy artillery, armoured personnel carriers and multiple rocket launchers.

78. I would mention in addition to the process of militarization that Nicaragua began the process of introducing foreign military personnel into Central America. Today it maintains much the largest contingent of foreign military advisers in the area: some 3,500 or more Cuban and other military and security advisers, more than 100 Soviet and other Eastern bloc advisers, Libyan advisers, PLO advisers, some 5,000 to 10,000 Cuban and other civilian advisers, an increasing number of whom are young males who have completed military training.

79. Nicaragua began the process of destabilizing its neighbours in the hemisphere. Again I have no desire today to give the Council a comprehensive list of Nicaragua's efforts. There may be time for that in the course of this discussion. I would simply remind the Council that Nicaragua continues to assist guerrillas in other countries, principally, but not exclusively, the FMLN and FDR in El Salvador, through shipments of arms and other supplies, through training and through the provision of command and control centres.

80. Nicaragua comes before this Council once again, as six times in the past, seeking to prevent its neighbours from defending themselves against Nicaraguan-based efforts at the subversion and overthrow of neighbouring countries.

81. It cannot be, as we have said before, that one country has the right to destabilize by violence its neighbours and that they have no right to defend themselves. It cannot be that one country, Nicaragua, has the right to introduce foreign arms and advisers to destabilize its neighbours and that they have no right to defend themselves. It cannot be that one country, Nicaragua, has the right to the most advanced technical material and that they have the right to only primitive weaponry.

82. The Government of Nicaragua continues its efforts at internal repression as well as external destabilization. Again I have no desire today to take up the time of the Council with a full description of Nicaragua's internal repression in the last year, since we last discussed this matter. I would, however, bring to the attention of the Council and others who are interested the fact that at this time, as we meet here, several thousand Miskito Indians are fleeing from the Sandy Bay Norte area of Nicaragua. this is north of Puerto Cabezas, about which we have heard a good deal. Those thousands of Miskitos this day fleeing Nicaragua are headed towards Honduras, fleeing from the camps into which they have been forced by the Nicaraguan Government in gross violation of their human rights. As they flee, knowing that they will live under hard physical conditions in Honduras, they are being bombed by Sandinist push-and-pull type aircraft. They are being harassed, fired upon. Every effort is being made to prevent their exodus from Nicaragua, as every effort was made to prevent their living in freedom and peace in Nicaragua.

83. The Government of Nicaragua has apparently still not learned that those who wield swords against their own people and their neighbours risk having swords turned against them.

84. Nicaragua comes to this Council to seek protection while it undermines and overthrows neighbouring Governments and represses its own people. It comes to the Council speaking of mercenaries who attack the Government of Nicaragua. We have in our time heard from totalitarian Governments many examples of the efforts of Governments to dehumanize their own people, to declare their own fellow citizens non-people. Totalitarians regularly define those who oppose them as non-people. The counter-revolutionaries described by the representative of Nicaragua are Nicaraguans. They are Nicaraguans who today, as in the past, are seeking the democratic solutions that they have so long sought. They are seeking democracy and freedom in their Government, just as they sought democracy and freedom when they overthrew the previous dictator of Nicaragua only to see him replaced by new military dictators.

85. As I said, we can understand that the elections in El Salvador cannot have been a happy occasion for the Government of Nicaragua. The spectacle of hundreds of thousands of Salvadorian workers and peasants voting enthusiastically in a closely contested election represented a repudiation of the Nicaraguan-backed guerrillas who had denounced and tried to sabotage the election. It represented a repudiation of the Nicaraguan style of democracy, which substitutes the will of the Government for the consent of the people. It represents an embarrassing contrast with the Sandinist dominated and controlled election process, so-called, now under way in Nicaragua.

86. Indeed, the nature of the conflict in Central America is illuminated by the policies of the Governments of El Salvador and Nicaragua as they search for solutions to the conflicts which afflict their countries. In response to the declaration by the armed opposition in Nicaragua—that is, the contras, the famous counter-revolutionaries—that they were prepared to lay down their arms if they could only participate in peaceful political competition in Nicaragua and settle Nicara-

gua's political questions through the ballot box, the Nicaraguan Government announced that such opponents would not be permitted to participate under any circumstances and would in fact be tried *in absentia* as criminals.

87. The Government of El Salvador, to the contrary, took exactly the opposite position and actually invited the armed opposition to participate in the election on condition that they laid down their arms and agreed to peaceful political competition. The Government of Nicaragua continued to provide arms, supplies, training and other forms of assistance to Salvadorian guerrillas dedicated precisely to sabotaging the political process and imposing a dictatorship in El Salvador.

88. Since the beginning of this year Nicaraguan-supported terrorists in El Salvador have assassinated three members of the Constituent Assembly, a military judge and a campaign organizer. Under the slogan "Electoral farce no, popular war yes"—how is that for a peaceful solution?—the armed insurgents in El Salvador have done everything possible to disrupt the elections and reduce voter turn-out. They disenfranchised thousands of voters by seizing and destroying their identity cards, which are necessary for voting. They mined roads, threatened drivers, threatened gas-station owners selling fuel. In some places citizens were told there would be lots of bombs going off and that they had therefore best stay away from polling places.

89. On election day the guerrillas attacked the towns of Jucuapa, Chinameca, El Triunfo and Santa Clara as the voting was taking place. On election eve they killed soldiers stationed in Tejutepeque and prevented voting. Guerrilla sabotage caused about 80 per cent of the country to be blacked out over 12 hours immediately preceding the opening of the polls. This loss of electrical power severely disrupted the final sorting and dispatch of voting materials and obviously had an effect on the timely arrival of voting materials to some polling places.

90. None the less, despite all that, some 1.4 million Salvadorians, over 75 per cent of all eligible voters, cast their ballots. According to scores of firsthand reports by election observers, they voted in freedom, with genuine enthusiasm. The observer delegation from Colombia called the election "an impressive demonstration of the will of the Salvadorian people to find a democratic solution"—and its view was shared by most observers.

91. A democratic solution is also the chief, indeed the sole, objective of United States policy in Central America. Nothing more clearly illustrates the seriousness with which the United States has approached the problems of Central America or the commitment of the American people to finding a democratic solution to those problems than the report of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America. That Commission, chaired by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and consisting of 12 distinguished American citizens from both political parties representing very diverse points of view, undertook an intensive, six-month examination of the Central American crisis. The Commission heard testimony from hundreds of expert witnesses. It made on-the-spot visits to each of the five Central American countries and to the four countries comprising the Contadora Group and reviewed voluminous documents.

92. Its conclusions and recommendations are the product of as careful an examination of the problems of Central America that we are likely to have for some time. They form the basis of the Central American Democracy, Peace and Development Initiative Act of 1984, which President Reagan has submitted to the United States Congress. This bill represents a far-reaching attempt to address the problems in Central America comprehensively. It identifies the United States firmly and unequivocally with the aspirations of the peoples of Central America for social and economic development, for democracy and human rights and for a peaceful solution to the conflicts now plaguing the region.

93. The fundamental conclusion of the Commission is that the roots of the crisis in Central America are both indigenous and foreign; the discontents are real and, for much of the population, conditions of life are miserable. While these conditions invite indigenous revolution, they have also been exploited by hostile outside forces —specifically by Cuba, backed by the Soviet Union, now operating through Nicaragua—which will turn any revolution they capture into a dictatorship, threatening the peace and stability of the region and robbing the people of their hopes for liberty.

94. The interrelationship of these problems is such, the Commission concluded, that neither the military, nor the political, nor the economic, nor the social aspects of the crisis should be considered independently of the others. Without progress on the political, economic and social fronts, peace on the military front would be illusive and fragile. But unless the externally supported insurgencies are checked and the violence curbed, progress on those other fronts will also be illusive and fragile. Progress in any one, therefore, is not enough. All the sources of the crisis must be addressed, and be addressed simultaneously.

95. The distinguished President of Costa Rica, Luis Alberto Monge, has characterized the report of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America as "an intervention against misery and ignorance". That, surely, was the intention of the Commission: to call upon the United States Government and the American people to become fully engaged at the side of our Central American neighbours in the struggle against misery and ignorance.

96. In order to combat injustice and poverty, the Commission has proposed a series of bold measures

to support agricultural development, education, health services, export promotion, land reform, housing, humanitarian relief, trade credit insurance, and small businesses and other activities. Because democracy is essential to effective development, special attention will be given to increasing scholarships, leadership training, educational exchanges and support for the growth of democratic institutions.

97. A programme of substantial assistance is proposed to revitalize the Central American Common Market and the Central American Bank for Economic Integration, which made a major contribution to the region's rapid economic growth in the 1960s and early 1970s and which today could stimulate increased intra-regional trade and economic activity. To give structure, consistency and continuing direction to this sustained effort, the Commission proposed a high-level meeting of United States officials with their Central American counterparts to consider the creation of the Central American Development Organization (CADO). This organisation would provide guidance and review, as well as assistance, for economic, social and political development programmes of those Central American nations eligible to join by reason of their commitment to internal reform and democracy, as well as to external non-intervention. It is envisioned that other democracies outside the region would participate as well in this major effort to channel external assistance to the region.

98. The Commission also squarely confronted the dangers created by the unprecedented military buildup in Nicaragua, the régime's ideological commitment to the export of revolution and its military ties to the Soviet Union and Cuba—dangers which weigh heavily on the neighbouring countries. I will not on this occasion, as I have said before, describe in detail this military buildup or demonstrate the extent of Nicaragua's intervention in neighbouring States or its militarization and military ties. All those points are thoroughly covered in the Commission's report.

99. What I wish to emphasize here is the Commission's call for a vigorous diplomatic strategy and a negotiating effort designed to resolve the conflict and to include Nicaragua in a regional settlement that would ensure lasting security guarantees, as well as national independence for all the nations of Central America. Such a settlement would be squarely based on the principles contained in the 21-point proposal of the Contadora Group [*see S/16041, annex*]. They include: respect for sovereignty and non-intervention verifiable commitments to non-aggression and an end to all attempts at subversion; limitations on arms and sizes of armed forces; prohibition of all military forces, bases and advisers of foreign nations; no military forces, bases or advisers of non-Central American countries; commitment to internal pluralism and free elections in all countries; provision for verification of all agreements; and establishment of an inter-government council, to meet regularly and review compliance. Adherence to the overall agreement to those 21 points would be required for membership in CADO.

100. In drawing up those recommendations the Commission drew heavily on its consultation with the leaders of the Contadora countries. It declared that the Contadora countries are engaged in a bold, new experiment; they deserve the gratitude and encouragement of all the nations in the region. These are also the views of the United States Government.

101. As the Commission repeatedly emphasized, all elements of the crisis must be addressed simultaneously. No short cuts were discovered, no gimmicks, diplomatic or otherwise. Thus as one element of the broad programme the report recommends increased military assistance, under proper conditions, to the Governments of El Salvador and Honduras. That assistance will reinforce the diplomatic effort by helping create the conditions under which peaceful settlements may be reached and the objective of a better life in freedom and national independence for all Central Americans successfully pursued.

102. In discussing Central America, there is a tendency sometimes to succumb to despair, especially by those who know little about the region. But the Commission found everywhere "a hope for a democratic future and a readiness to sacrifice towards that end".

103. I believe the election just held in El Salvador demonstrates as clearly as any single event could that the people of that country have not succumbed to despair and that they are ready to sacrifice for a better, brighter, democratic future. The Commission's report stated:

> "The people of Central America have lived too long with poverty, deprivation and violence. The current turmoil must not be allowed to shatter their hopes for a brighter future. They have endured too many generations of misrule to let their aspirations for democratic political development be dashed, in this generation, on the rocks of fear, division and violence.
>
> "Not least, their own security and ours must no longer be threatened by hostile Powers which seek expansion of influence through the exploitation of misery.
>
> "The crisis thus poses an urgent challenge to the United States, but that challenge in turn presents us with an opportunity, an opportunity to help the people of Central America translate their dreams of a better and freer life into a reality."

104. That is our wish. It is our only wish. The rest is hard work, good will, fortitude and uncompromising commitment to democratic values and practices and a respect for the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

105. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The next speaker is the representative of Honduras. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

106. Mr. FLORES BERMÚDEZ (Honduras) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Mr. President, allow me on this occasion, on behalf of the delegation of Honduras, to congratulate you on your wise conduct this month of the debates in this most important forum. Your broad experience as a statesman guarantees a successful outcome of the Council's work. At the same time I should like to thank the members of the Council for allowing me to speak as it begins its consideration of the item on its agenda.

107. The Council is meeting for the third time at the urgent request of the Sandinist Government in order to consider another repetitious montage of national political propaganda, resorted to by that Government almost as a matter of routine, notwithstanding the negative and fruitless experiences of the two previous occasions the Council met on the subject.

108. Honduras has once again had to request the Council to allow it to participate in the meeting on this item, because it feels obliged, out of respect for the Council, to provide it with as much information as possible in order for it to see how one of its members is trying to distort and make use of this body for purposes that do not best serve the re-establishment of internal peace in Nicaragua or the maintenance of peace and security in Central America.

109. With the same lack of decorum, the same strategy of diverting attention from its crisis at home, the same purpose of preventing the process of bringing real democracy to its authoritarian structures, the same aim of continuing to attempt to deny on the one hand the internal struggle being waged against that Government by anti-Sandinist rebel forces based in Nicaraguan territory and on the other the presence of thousands of foreign military technicians and advisers who direct the Sandinist troops and distort the very identity of Nicaragua, with the same objective of covering up policies of extermination that have caused the mass exodus of ethnic groups and the lack of respect for religious freedom, with the same intent of hiding the progressive frustration of Nicaraguans at the Sandinist Government's lack of respect for the fulfilment of the objectives or the bases of the revolution—political pluralism, a mixed economy and non-alignment—with this same strategy, these same intentions and purposes, the Sandinist Government has come here once again to denounce dangers and imaginary attacks on its territory from the neighbouring States, trying to draw attention to the region, to turn Central America into an area subject to confrontation between the two major Powers and, finally, to frustrate the diplomatic efforts that are being made within the scope of the Contadora regional peace process to build a climate of security, peace, democracy and economic and social development in Central America.

110. At the last meeting of the Security Council convened at Nicaragua's request [*2513th meeting*] to deal with attacks on its territory alleged to have been carried out by military planes from Honduran territory, the delegation of Honduras affirmed with complete certainty that such an accusation was entirely groundless.

111. The facts have once again demonstrated that Honduras was right and that the Nicaraguan charges were irresponsible. Today we are faced with another series of charges just as invalid as all the preceding ones.

112. In the message from the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction to the people of Nicaragua and the world of 13 March of this year, distributed on that same date as a Security Council document at the request of the representative of Nicaragua [*S/16413, annex*], among other slogans and groundless assertions there appears the fanciful interpretation that they give to the training activities that the Honduran armed forces are carrying out in co-operation with the United States, and reality is falsified once again by alleging certain designs aimed against El Salvador and Nicaragua. This argument has been repeated here yet again.

113. The Government of Honduras has on many occasions contacted the Sandinist Government to deplore such systematic tactics that are at variance with proper international conduct. We have also done this on various occasions before the OAS, this Council and the United Nations General Assembly, where we have also provided well-documented replies refuting false charges of responsibility for past events and tendentious interpretations of actions carried out by Honduras in exercise of its full responsibility over its territory. All these accusations are being repeated once again today. This is all part of the pathological lies resorted to by the Sandinist régime.

114. Although Honduras has already submitted considerable detailed information, we believe it is necessary once again to make clear that Honduras has a constant and sincere desire for peace, as is shown by its invariable and constructive participation in the Contadora Group. We state again that the measures that have been taken to improve the professional level of the armed forces of Honduras—including the joint exercises carried out with members of the United States Army—are eminently defensive in nature and are designed to protect our sovereignty. This is in contrast to the unconscionable arms race engaged in by Nicaragua and to its policy of flagrant intervention in other countries of Central America, with the purpose of internationalizing the conflict in which it is involved today. The military manoeuvres in which Honduran armed forces are participating are not prohibited by the documents adopted by the Contadora Group—for example, in the first document on the measures to be taken to fulfil the commitments entered into in the Document of Objectives, the Contadora Group proposed that there should be a duty to report to the other States on the

carrying out of manoeuvres. Honduras not only has reported to the other States but has even extended invitations to the countries of the Americas—including Nicaragua—and of Europe to observe the military exercises.

115. The achievement of peace, democracy, security and co-operation for development in Central America is the sole objective of the foreign policy of Honduras. That is why we are seeking diplomatic solutions that would eliminate the causes of the conflicts in the region. That is a fact.

116. The Sandinist Government has an unequivocal attitude: it seeks to create confrontation and thereby to undermine the order and respect that should exist when there are clearly delineated boundaries between the Central American countries and when there is a regional peace procedure under way involving the five Central American countries.

117. The many violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Honduras by Sandinist troops—as is clear from the many protests made to the Government of Nicaragua and communicated to the OAS and to the United Nations—demonstrate that that régime has no respect for boundaries. An even more serious example of this was furnished recently by the Sandinist Government when it unilaterally removed the monuments delineating one part of the boundary between Honduras and Nicaragua and moved them into Honduran territory, committing a series of abuses harmful to Honduran citizens. Notwithstanding this flagrant violation of the rules of international law and the principles contained in the treaty delimiting the respective boundaries, Honduras, in order not to inflame the situation still further, has proposed to the Government of Nicaragua that a committee of engineers of both countries be established to ensure that the monuments that have been moved are quickly and permanently put back where they belong.

118. The Sandinist Government has on a number of occasions also violated the territorial sovereignty of other Central American countries. As an example, I would refer to the note addressed by Costa Rica to Nicaragua and distributed on 2 March for the information of the States Members of the United Nations. In that note, the Government of Costa Rica protested against a "flagrant violation" by Sandinist troops of Costa Rican territory and stated that this cast suspicion on the sincerity of the intentions of the Nicaraguan Government to promote a relaxation of tension in the area. Later, on 13 March, in the message of the Governing Junta of Nicaragua already referred to, it was stated that there were anti-Sandinist bases of operation and camps in Honduran territory. Similar statements have been made today regarding other territories.

119. Honduras has formally appealed to the Government of Nicaragua to act with the wisdom required by the circumstances, in order to avoid spreading the internal conflicts it is facing, either by action or by implication.

120. The fact that the Sandinist Government is seeking to jeopardize the peace efforts of the Contadora Group is reflected in these incidents. It is reflected also in the request to convene the Security Council, since the aim is to undermine the confidence of the other Central American countries in the regional peace procedure. It is trying also to maintain in its country a war psychosis by continuing to feed the voracious appetite of its arms race and by its desire to make the Central American region a scene of confrontation and ideological pressure between different blocs. This is of particular concern because of the unusual presence of warships from outside the continent in the Caribbean, where Guatemala, Nicaragua and Honduras have coastlines.

121. The fact that the Sandinist Government is intervening in neighbouring countries is confirmed by the support, so far unsuccessful, it gives to the promotion of subversion in Honduras, and of the guerrillas in El Salvador by supplying them with weapons. As part of this strategy, a week ago Commander Humberto Ortega Saavedra, Nicaragua's Defence Minister, announced the possibility that local guerrilla fighters would mine the ports of the other Central American countries, from Guatemala to Panama. This statement is a new and very clear threat of the use of force against other countries, in open violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Moreover, it is an open admission that the subversive groups attempting to destabilize Governments in the area are operating with the support and under the control of the Nicaraguan Government, as Mr. Edgardo Paz Barnica, the Minister for External Relations of Honduras, said in his firm message of protest [*S/16444*]. It was precisely in application of Commander Ortega Saavedra's statement that terrorist acts were carried out in Tegucigalpa and San Pedro Sula: five bombs exploded, leaving one person dead and one wounded.

122. Honduras has been the victim of frenzied attacks by the Sandinist Government. Between 3 and 11 January, in only three incidents in Honduran territory, 11 of our compatriots were killed. Since 3 February, the Sandinist Government has gone even further. In its message of 13 March to the world, it appealed for technical and military assistance, thereby making clear its intention to continue to arm itself frantically, at the precise moment when the working Commission on security affairs established under the Contadora procedure was to study the methods for applying a policy for the control and reduction of armaments and troops in order to restore a military balance in the area, to establish international control machinery, to eliminate the illegal traffic in weapons and to put an end to acts of subversion and terrorism.

123. The Sandinist Government called for a meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-

Aligned Countries, to which the representative of Nicaragua referred in his statement today. It was thus trying to use that distinguished Movement, taking advantage of being one of its members. We have had an opportunity to read carefully the draft that Nicaragua submitted to the non-aligned countries and the one that was finally adopted on 15 March. It should be noted that, although that distinguished Movement did give satisfaction to Nicaragua as a member, a number of significant changes were made in the original draft in order to include references to a number of matters that Nicaragua had omitted—such as the great progress made by a number of countries in Central America in regard to elections, and the importance of using democratic procedures as tools for relaxation of regional tension and for internal reconciliation. That is reflected also in the Contadora communiqué of 28 February [*S/16394, annex*].

124. The Co-ordinating Bureau also recalled General Assembly resolution 38/10, which reaffirms the overall regional nature of the Central American conflict, condemns "the acts of aggression against the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the States in the region"—not just those cited by one of them—and notes with satisfaction that the countries of the region have agreed to establish or improve "democratic, representative and pluralist systems" through honest and periodic electoral processes.

125. There is no doubt that there is now a keener awareness of the facts of the situation in Central America, which is affecting a number of countries and which the Sandinist Government has been trying to distort with information prepared for that purpose, which it disseminates through its participation in the Non-Aligned Movement. We welcome the effort at greater realism in the analysis of the situation in Central America, and we hope that all countries will continue to be objective so that we Central Americans will succeed in solving our own problems in a propitious climate of trust.

126. One of the most recent steps taken by the Nicaraguan Government in this overall context was the release on 26 March of another communiqué [*S/16440, annex*], in which it called on the Contadora Group to withdraw its offer of good offices—good offices that because of their neutrality have brought about noteworthy progress in the search for peace in Central America—implicitly requesting the Group to take direct action and involve itself in the sub-regional conflict, to become a part of and to take sides in it. It would be a serious mistake with disastrous consequences if the valuable Contadora forum, with its five Central American member countries, were to lose its objectivity and good will.

127. These initiatives show us that Nicaragua is trying to blame other countries for its own internal conflicts and to relieve itself of all responsibility for the present crisis. The Sandinist Government is also obviously trying to give priority to the solution of security problems which are of concern to itself alone. Nicaragua is seeking to relegate to the background problems which are of concern to other Central American countries, such as weapons trafficking, support of all kinds for sabotage, terrorism and destabilization against other Central American Governments, the Nicaraguan arms buildup, the large number of Nicaraguan troops, and the growing presence in Nicaragua of Eastern-bloc advisers. All those factors have made it necessary for other countries to make preparations for adequate defence and for deterring Nicaragua from any direct aggression, preparations which are all being made with the full support of a free people, as is the case of Honduras.

128. The 26 March communiqué to which I have referred also demonstrates that Nicaragua is trying to stress the military presence in Central America of the United States and to minimize the Soviet military presence, especially naval, and the Soviet-Cuban manoeuvres to be carried out in the Caribbean. Looking at the communiqué in that light, it is clear that it is just another attempt by Nicaragua to justify in the eyes of the international community its acquisition of more weapons and the buildup of its military personnel.

129. We hope that the Council, in its wisdom, will continue to take a pragmatic approach to these problems and to play its proper role and that therefore it will not allow itself to be used to interfere in action by Central Americans and in the regional approach that we have taken to resolve our problems. In that context, no possible expression of opinion should disregard the imperative need to encourage the Sandinist Government to behave with consistency, good faith and great responsibility in what must be a serious position within the Contadora process and a responsible position as a member of the Security Council.

130. Nor should we forget the political expression of the 26 Latin American States which met at the highest level in January of this year, stating in the Quito Declaration that

> "Latin America and the Caribbean do not resign themselves to being the arena of alien confrontation and firmly believe that the region's problems should and can be resolved in our own sphere, thereby ensuring that the Latin America area will be a zone of peace."[1]

131. For its part, Honduras reiterates its unchanging position: that of fostering and supporting the comprehensive, peaceful solution of regional disputes through the Contadora peace process and within the framework of the inter-American system.

132. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: The representative of Nicaragua has asked to speak in right of reply.

133. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I shall try to be brief, for I think I have already made a comprehensive and lengthy statement about Nicaragua's reasons for calling for this meeting of the Security Council: the acts of aggression, deaths and material damage which my country is suffering. I believe that I have already set before the Council and the international community the valid points needed to corroborate our claims, points consisting not merely of our own words, but of things which in the normal course of events any United Nations delegation can read about in *The New York Times*, in *The Christian Science Monitor*, in *The Wall Street Journal*, or in the rest of the American press.

134. Nevertheless, I should like to make some clarifications regarding the statement of the representative of the United States. It seems to me that she made use of a number of points which, aside from suggesting a little confusion on her part, might tend—at the least—to seek to confuse others.

135. The representative of the United States presented an apologia for past, present and intended United States support for the Central American region, for each of the countries of our region. She spoke—at great length—of United States support for the Contadora Group, and she spoke of the interest of the United States in promoting democracy in Central America. I think it is fitting for me to refer very briefly to the fact that the truth of the history of the United States in Central America is the exact opposite of what she stated today. It is not only my people which ever since its independence has suffered acts of United States intervention, although it has suffered such acts since 1854, following the first American intervention, when a pro-slavery adventurer from the southern United States proclaimed himself the President of Nicaragua and introduced slavery to Nicaragua.

136. It is not a case of Nicaragua alone; many Latin American countries—not just in Central America—in this century have suffered the grave consequences of the United States military presence. In addition to Nicaragua in 1912, 1925 and 1926 we can cite, among others, the case of the Dominican Republic and that of Cuba. The United States still maintains a military presence in the latter country, in spite of the opposition of the Cuban Government. There are the actions taken against Guatemala in 1954 and in Chile in 1973 to overthrow their legitimately constituted Governments elected in a process which, by Western standards, was democratic.

137. History shows us clearly what has been the United States attitude. If we look at what is happening at present, we can also see the consequences of events reported every day.

138. The representative of the United States has on various occasions in this Council said that Nicaragua's requests for meetings of the Security Council—and I wish here to confirm that we have been obliged to request such meetings on six occasions, and not three—were prompted by childish motives on the part of our leaders, since there really were no reasons to be fearful or apprehensive about United States attitudes towards Nicaragua. I should like to point out to her that the United States Congress and various American politicians have on many occasions manifested their concern at the policy conducted by the Reagan Administration against Nicaragua and in respect of Central America in general. To refer to only one case, I would mention the statements we have read recently in the United States press, now that the Democratic Party primaries are under way, statements such as that by Senator Hart, in which he condemned the war-mongering policy of the United States and its presence in Central America.

139. The United States representative also said that her interest had always been and continued to be the democratic development of the Central American countries. Again, we must refute her affirmations. In a recent statement I made in the Council in respect of the complaint of Sudan [*2521st meeting*], I pointed out that the economic crisis has had a significant impact on the African countries and caused them great hardship and that everyone knows where that crisis comes from and how it has been brought about. The same applies to Central America. I believe that what is a fact of history is the abuse—I do not say the use—by the United States Government of the natural resources of our countries, our primary commodities, which they have always bought from us extremely cheaply for their convenience only to sell them back to us later as processed goods at extremely high rates of profit.

140. The United States representative also said that now as in the past the United States Administration was interested in contributing to democratic development in Central America.

141. I do not know how one can consider contributing to the development of democracy in Central America when the whole world knows—all the members of the Council and everyone present in this chamber, with the exception of the United States representative—that, on the contrary, United States policy is characterized by its support for dictatorial régimes, such as that of Somoza in Nicaragua, which it not only created when it was obliged to leave Nicaragua after Sandino's war of liberation but also maintained in power for more than 45 years. The case of Somoza in Nicaragua is not the only case of dictatorship the United States has created and fomented in various Central American countries.

142. The United States representative said that the Government of Nicaragua had a clear purpose in having recourse to this forum on various occasions, that the aim was not only to divert attention from its own problems but also to make sure that certain other problems of the region would not be given serious consideration. This is not the first time we have heard that assertion. She herself made it in the Security Council, and we

have also heard it in the corridors of the United Nations, where, as everyone knows, many things are said. All I can say about that is that Nicaragua's requests for Security Council meetings are the result of United States acts of aggression and the policy of death and destruction the American President is carrying out against my country. If the United States Administration were more mature and less inclined to war-mongering, and if it did not seek military solutions to problems, Nicaragua would never have been obliged to have recourse to the Security Council. Regrettably, this war-mongering policy is sowing death among our population and causing enormous damage to our economy. All we can do in response to the blows of a great Power is resort, in a responsible manner, to the organ entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security. Furthermore, in my statement I indicated that Nicaragua sincerely believed that its frequent recourse to the Council, the support of the Non-Aligned Movement and the various political manifestations of concern by European leaders and others tended to dissuade the Reagan Administration from implementing its 1980 decision to overthrow my country's Government by force of arms.

143. Among other things, the United States representative accused us and spoke extensively in this regard, that the problem of the United States is, from its point of view, that Nicaragua wishes to interfere and is interfering in the internal affairs not only of the other Central American countries but also of Latin America. It seems that various United States military strategists have gone so far as to say on various occasions that my country had the most powerful army from the Rio Bravo to Patagonia.

144. In this respect I should like to point out to Mrs. Kirkpatrick that my Government does not have a policy of interference. Indeed, we cannot have such a policy because we do not have the capacity to carry it out; we do not have the means to send arms to other countries, as does the United States, which supplies El Salvador and Chile, for example. With its economic and military might, the United States can and indeed does do this.

145. The example of our revolution is what we have and what American warmongering policy-makers fear, and that is why they seek to impede our consolidation. They know that that example could be harmful for the militaristic policy they are pursuing, not just in Central America but also in Latin America and other regions of the world.

146. The American representative stated that my Government was the one which started militarization in Central America, and if I remember correctly she said that we have 107,000 persons under arms. Let me correct her on that; she was in error. First of all, it was not my Government that started it. On 19 July we will have the fifth anniversary of Nicaragua as an independent Republic, and I think everyone realizes that the militarization of Central America existed many years prior the coming to power of the Sandinists in Nicaragua. There was Somoza, who was created by the United States and whom it set up as the guardian of United States interests in Central America.

147. The problem for the United States now is that there has been a change. For the first time in history, Nicaragua under the Sandinists can claim to be a truly non-aligned country, one which for the first time in its history can determine its own future, and therefore the United States had to have recourse to another guardian in Central America, finding one in a general in Honduras named Alvarez. It is arming him to the teeth, as I mentioned, and unfortunately it has turned that country into one more "aircraft carrier" of the United States Navy.

148. I said I wanted to correct the representative about the number of Nicaraguans under arms. I can assure Mrs. Kirkpatrick that the day when her Administration, directly or indirectly, seeks to intervene more than it is already doing in Nicaragua, it will not be 107,000 Nicaraguans under arms; the entire people will be under arms in responding to that aggression, and for the second time in this century we will succeed in driving them out.

149. We take pride in saying that the greatest arsenal Nicaragua has is not made up of Soviet tanks or tanks of any other national origin that we may have, nor the French-built patrol boats, or boats of whatever other nationality, nor is it cannons and small-arms; rather, it is the popular support enjoyed by the Sandinist popular revolution. That is our strength.

150. They know better than anyone that we are the only Central American Government that can give its people arms to defend its sovereignty. Let me suggest to the representative that she recommend to the present Government of El Salvador that it give arms, the arms which the United States itself is sending, to its people to protect it from the intervention by Nicaragua in El Salvador. I believe that what would happen, apart from the fact that it would not take very long, is obvious: the Government would be overthrown by its own people.

151. The representative said also that our Government in its totalitarian strivings chose to ignore the efforts and concessions being made by Nicaraguans friendly to the United States and proposed to us in respect of our elections. I should just like to make a point on this and perhaps she would like to reply. As a good academician, she doubtless knows the difference between a civil war, a national war and a war of aggression. I am not an expert in the military field; I will not delve into this, but the most elementary logic inclines me to believe that when a civil war is unleashed in a country there has to be popular support. Among other things, there is a need to have or to obtain in the course of that war liberated territories which both factions control, which, as we all know, is certainly the case in

El Salvador. I would ask the representative—because it would help to shed light on the claims which she and her Government and other Central American Governments have made about Nicaragua's problem being an internal one—what square inch of Nicaraguan territory have the counter-revolutionary CIA mercenaries come to control?

152. If she wishes, I could bring a map of Nicaragua right now and she could show everyone where that piece of territory is that the counter-revolution and the CIA mercenaries have liberated, and in what part of that territory they keep the high-speed patrol boats, mines, arsenals and aircraft with which they have been attacking and killing our people and the foreign shipping that comes to our home. If she does not want a map today, I can send one to her Mission tomorrow so that she may consider it quietly and be able to pinpoint it at another time, next week when we continue the debate.

153. There are many other things in her long speech to which I could refer. I could refer to the apologia that she presented for the Kissinger report. The only thing I will say about that is that for Latin America Kissinger is an unhappy memory. Moreover, I think there was a minority report submitted by one of the members of the Commission concerning military and security aspects of the report, and it seems to me that in Congress certain politicians are not very contented with the militaristic contents in that report as a complement to the economic offers made in it.

154. Before finishing, I wish to refer to two more aspects. Mrs. Kirkpatrick said that Sandinism had failed to live up to its promises, including public promises, made in regional organs. It is not the first time she has said that in this Council. I think she referred to that when certain countries which are no longer members were in the Council. I remember the first time was when the Co-ordinator of our Junta first addressed the Council. She brought a letter sent by those who were going to represent the Junta to the OAS.

155. I merely wish to say to Mrs. Kirkpatrick that in order to guarantee elections we do not need to send bullets, as President Reagan requested of Congress. We all know that two weeks ago, when he was trying to obtain the additional $93 million for military aid to El Salvador, President Reagan was reported in the United States press to have said that bullets were needed to guarantee the elections. That is a strange way to guarantee elections, a curious way to support democracy.

156. I can assure Mrs. Kirkpatrick that we will carry out the process of democratic institutionalization that has begun in Nicaragua, though not because of United States pressure. I can assure her also—and it is necessary for the American Administration to understand and analyse this fact—that it is not as a result of American pressure that Nicaragua has been taking positions in international forums, adopting policies with respect to the Contadora Group, or trying to institutionalize its internal processes. We have been doing this because we are serious, responsible, peace-loving people, unlike the American Administration, which has brought the world to the brink of a nuclear holocaust. We are doing this because we have a commitment to our people and to no one else.

157. Perhaps Mrs. Kirkpatrick could be invited to visit Nicaragua as an observer of the elections as we intend to invite representatives of other Governments of friendly countries with which we have relations. But I say it would be to observe and not to supervise, as the Americans did in 1928, when Sandino's war of liberation started. I can promise her that these elections, which will take place two days before the United States elections, will be an example of elections in Latin America. I am sure that Mrs. Kirkpatrick, President Reagan and his principal advisers are fully aware that Sandinism will win the elections, and not through fraud. We could put a United States Marine at each ballot box to supervise, and the same thing would happen. They know, because they have their own means of espionage—not just by aircraft and radar in the Gulf of Fonseca and on Honduran territory; they have CIA agents inside Nicaragua and they know the majority feeling of the Nicaraguan people. It is precisely because they do know it that they are trying indirectly to prevent the holding of elections in Nicaragua; that is why they are trying to make sure that our Government will retreat from its already announced commitment. But I can assure them that we shall not do so. We shall withstand United States pressure.

158. Unfortunately, we shall continue suffering the loss of the best of our sons. It will be difficult for us to continue providing our peasants with bread, because the Americans have cut off the loans for wheat purchases which they granted us at one point. But they did not realize that despite that cut-off, Sweden, the Netherlands, the Soviet Union, France and many other countries of the international community would send us the wheat that the United States cut off, and we were able to give bread to our workers and peasants. What we did then, we shall do again.

159. We shall continue our process of institutionalization. We shall hold elections, as people in the United States are accustomed to doing. We intend nothing else. We shall show them that in Nicaragua the President will not win with the support of only 25 or 27 per cent of the eligible voters.

160. Unfortunately, I have gone on for too long, but there is one last point I wish to make, with regard to Mrs. Kirkpatrick's grave concern about the minorities and the Miskitos in Nicaragua. I shall not refer to the extermination of the American Indians, nor shall I point out that her concern for the Miskitos is recent. I have never heard her mention the percentage of unemployment among the Indian population in the United States —that is, among the small number of them that man-

aged to survive. I do not have the exact data here with me, but I think that the figure exceeds 40 per cent. She does not seem very concerned about that, or about the Mexican labourers who are allowed in and then mercilessly exploited.

161. Regarding the Miskitos, I wish to point out to Mrs. Kirkpatrick that in December 1982 my Government discovered—and publicized, because some of those involved were captured—a plan which the CIA had sought to carry out on the Nicaraguan Atlantic Coast. The plan, called "Red Christmas", sought to use the Miskitos—in other words, to manipulate the historic ignorance of the settlers on the Atlantic Coast, for which the Americans are responsible, because Somoza was responsible internally in my country and they supported him. Somoza was not at all concerned for the indigenous inhabitants of the eastern sector of Nicaragua. Logically, the blame lies with those—perhaps Mrs. Kirkpatrick, or some in the other Administrations in the United States over the 45 years of Somoza's rule—who could have brought in roads and telephones, improved literacy and provided health centres. But they did not advocate those things, or Somoza ignored them. In fact, they obviously did not, because Somoza certainly listened to his American advisers. Through this "Red Christmas" plan they even tried to take possession of this isolated and under-developed area. "Under-developed" is not the right description for it, because Nicaragua is under-developed generally. Mr. Treiki said earlier that he had been astonished by the levels of poverty in Nicaragua. It is true, and those to blame are right here in front of us.

162. But within the poverty existing in Nicaragua the poverty on the Atlantic Coast is really astonishing and disturbing. It is with the revolution starting in 1979 that something has been done to try to improve the minimal, subsistence living standards of the 270,000 inhabitants of that Atlantic Coast. That figure includes the Miskitos, blacks and persons of mixed ancestry. In a television programme a year or so ago on which Mrs. Kirkpatrick appeared with the Nicaraguan Minister for External Relations—I do not know whether it was in good faith or for some other purpose—she charged the violation of Miskito rights in Nicaragua, saying that there were 270,000 Miskitos.

163. Actually, there are 90,000 Miskitos in Nicaragua, of whom perhaps 15,000 have left for Honduran territory. We cannot deny, nor do I seek to deny, that we may have made certain mistakes in our treatment of the Miskito minority. We are an honest and revolutionary Government. We are proud of our achievements, but we are aware of our shortcomings, and we try to overcome them.

164. The 15,000 Miskitos in Honduran territory are people who have been manipulated by the United States and are being used now. Some of them are involved in military activities against my country. They are even being prevented from returning to Nicaragua.

165. In 1982 my Government, on the basis of article 48 *f* of the American Convention on Human Rights,[2] took steps so that the pertinent organ could assume its functions for a friendly solution of difficulties between the Government of Nicaragua and citizens of our country of Miskito origin. That was an agreement for an amicable solution, signed in August 1982 with the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

166. I think it was in December of last year moreover, that we announced broad amnesty without exceptions for Miskito citizens. On instructions from my Government, I personally requested the Secretary-General to ensure that the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) participate in repatriation efforts —repatriation being one of the objectives pursued by Contadora—and facilitate the measures needed to carry out the repatriation of the Miskitos. Unfortunately the CIA mercenaries have been preventing that repatriation from being carried out totally and satisfactorily, although I can assure the Council that quite a number of Miskito Indians in Honduras have started returning to my country, thanks to UNHCR. That can be corroborated by UNHCR. Certainly the Nicaraguan Government is not removing them, and we have not asked it of the American representative, because she has confirmed that they are leaving. It just could be that her Government is moving them.

167. I have already taken up too much of the time of the Council, and I apologize to members. If the need arises I may wish to speak again to supplement my replies to some of the observations made by Mrs. Kirkpatrick.

168. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I call on the representative of the United States, who has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

169. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): First, in the interest of accuracy, I may say that I never suggested that Nicaragua had the most powerful army in South America; I only suggested that Nicaragua had the most powerful army in Central America, which of course includes, conventionally, the five small nations of Central America that are well known, presumably, to members of the Council.

170. Secondly, with regard to the Miskitos, who I do think long to return to Nicaragua, if only they could live in peace on the north Atlantic coast, as they have for centuries, with just decent respect for their right to freedom and self-determination. Unfortunately, they continue to flee. It is normally estimated that there are today approximately one half million Nicaraguans who have already fled the beneficent ministrations of the new dictatorship. Some 25,000 of those are Miskitos now in Honduras. More than 1,000 Miskitos are, as I have already said, fleeing Nicaragua this very day towards the Honduran border, suggesting that the practices that have made these very peaceable people, who seek only to be left alone to live their lives, flee have not in fact improved.

171. Thirdly, I find it very difficult to listen to the repeated accusations in this Council of the Nicaraguan representative and some of his associates concerning a United States penchant for dictatorship in Central America. It may come as a surprise to members of the Council, having heard so many interventions by the Nicaraguan representative for so long, to know that Somoza was a Nicaraguan. He was not a North American. He was not only a Nicaraguan, but he was head of a Government which consisted entirely of Nicaraguans and the son of another Somoza who was also a Nicaraguan who headed a Government which was comprised entirely of Nicaraguans. During this whole period the United States expressed its own preference for and commitment to democracy by living within democratic institutions and respecting democratic liberties in our own society.

172. I do not deny in this Council that my country has from time to time made mistakes in our policy *vis-à-vis* Central America or the world, or Nicaragua quite specifically. It may even be argued that we have from time to time been material accomplices to the rise of a dictatorship in Central America, or even in Nicaragua. I fear in fact that a close examination of the record would suggest that in 1978 and 1979 the United States Government, acting in the best of faith, did in fact assist in the rise to power in Nicaragua of a new military dictatorship which has consolidated a new and highly repressive power in that society and governs today, creating hundreds of thousands of refugees among Nicaraguans, who flee their country still seeking the freedom they were seeking when they overthrew Somoza.

173. Finally, concerning those elections in Nicaragua which we heard about from colleague who likes to read *The New York Times*. I too would like to read a piece from *The New York Times*, written by one of his former colleagues, Arturo Cruz, who was—as I am sure many members of the Council know—a member of the Governing Junta of the Nicaraguan revolutionary Government and its Ambassador to the United States until he resigned out of dismay, disillusionment and disappointment with their Government. He has since lived in exile and works for the establishment of democracy in Nicaragua, as indeed he did before he left. He wrote a column in *The New York Times* titled "Sandinista Democracy? Unlikely" about the proposed elections in Nicaragua, which appears on page A 27 of the issue of 27 January 1984, and in it he said:

> "the revolutionary commanders' statements about the voting process foreshadow a mockery of elections. The Sandinistas are determined to exclude leading dissident personalities like the former guerrilla leader Edén Pastora Gomez and former junta member Alfonso Robelo Callejas, who is also the leader of an important political party. Under these constraining conditions, citizens with a sense of self-esteem will be neither candidates nor voters...
>
> "Our erstwhile liberators, the Sandinistas, are becoming addicted to power. Having gallantly faced bullets in battle, they are now resorting to phony balloting—just as our right-wing dictators did in the past."

174. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I call on the representative of Nicaragua, who has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

175. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: I see that you are concerned, Sir, perhaps fearing that I will consume more time than I already have. I mentioned a moment ago that there would be another opportunity to expand on what I have already said; therefore I shall not even refer to how an American President—Mr. Roosevelt, I think it was, during the 1930s—described Somoza. The representative of the United States said Somoza too was a Nicaraguan. On the next occasion I have to speak I shall tell the Council what Roosevelt said—will all due apologies to the ladies in the chamber.

176. What I do wish to do—since it would perhaps be obsolete by next week—is to make one point about the United States Administration's fear in the face of the triumph of the Sandinist revolution. It fears not only our internal actions in Nicaragua but also our presence in the United States.

177. Representatives know full well that on various occasions Nicaraguan leaders have been denied visas to come here at the invitation of institutes. I shall not go into details. I just want to say that a trip scheduled by a member of the Governing Junta—not an official tour, obviously—could not be made because the United States Government was not interested. The trip was planned to begin on 23 April. Mr. Sergio Ramírez Mercado was to travel to Kansas City, Washington, New York, California, Boston and I am not sure to what other cities. He had been invited by various American intellectual organizations, universities and the like. In addition to being a member of the Governing Junta, Mr. Ramírez Mercado is a distinguished Nicaraguan intellectual, who lived many years in West Germany and many of whose books have been translated into German.

178. Following democratic procedures, and because of fear of the Sandinist revolution, whether inside or outside Nicaragua, the State Department decided to give Mr. Mercado an eight-day visa only, allowing him to go just to Kansas City, between 29 March and 6 April. That is just one example of the United States Government's fear of the words of the Sandinists. It is

an example of how they are trying to manipulate the truth to their own people.

179. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Spanish*]: There are no other names on the list of speakers for this meeting. With the consent of the President of the Security Council for the month of April, the next meeting of the Council to continue consideration of this item will be held on Monday, 2 April 1984, at 3.30 p.m.

The meeting rose at 7.30 p.m.

NOTES

[1] See A/39/118-E/1984/85, annex, para. 3.

[2] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 1144, No. 17955.

UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-NINTH YEAR

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2526th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 2 April 1984, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Vladimir A. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2526)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 22 March 1984 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16431)

The meeting was called to order at 11.35 a.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: As this is the first meeting of the Council for the month of April, I should like on behalf of the Council to pay a tribute to Mr. Javier Arias Stella, the representative of Peru, for the great diplomatic skill, tact and courtesy with which he conducted the business of the Council last month. I am sure that I am speaking for all the members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Mr. Arias Stella for his service as President for the month of March.

2. The Ukrainian SSR is taking up the duties of President of the Council with a sense of lofty responsibility. We shall do our utmost to ensure that we perform our duties in the best possible manner. At the same time, I would most cordially urge all speakers during this month to keep to the minimum any expressions of greetings to the incoming President, for that will save us much time. I assure members that, in so doing, they will in no way detract from our deep respect for the representatives and the countries they represent.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 22 March 1984 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16431)

3. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings [*2522nd and 2523rd meetings*] I invite the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to take a place at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mongolia, Poland, the Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Garvalov (Bulgaria), Mr. Kovačič (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Kittikhoun (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Erdenechuluun (Mongolia), Mr. Natorf (Poland), Mr. Birido (Sudan), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cuba and Hungary in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba) and Mr. Rácz (Hungary) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

5. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: First, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are sure that you, the representative of the Ukraine SSR, which has been working for democracy in the world, will guide the Council's deliberations in the customary excellent manner characteristic of your experience and ability.

6. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the representative of Peru, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, on the excellent manner in which he conducted the

Council's work last month. Thanks to his contribution, we were able to deal successfully with the subjects on the Council's agenda last month.

7. In his letter of 21 March [*S/16425*], the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya drew the international community's attention to the dangerous situation in the Libyan eastern border area caused by the increased interference by the United States there. The representative of Libya reported to us the presence of AWACS espionage aircraft with a group of fighters in the region and that there were plans to send in more such aircraft in the coming weeks. This information has been broadly corroborated by the American press.

8. We recall that in February 1983, the United States sent four AWACS aircraft and moved the aircraft-carrier *Nimitz* into the vicinity of Libya, under pretexts similar to those now being used. On that occasion the representative of the United States denied that reconnaissance aircraft and others with equipment for interference were flying along the Libyan borders, and in a letter to the Council [*S/15617*] said that the flights of aircraft from the *Nimitz* were routine and that the *Nimitz* was passing through the region. Later, in August 1983, the United States sent four more AWACS aircraft to the region, on the pretext of Libya's threats against Chad. When the Council met on that occasion at Libya's request, my Government denounced United States policies of intimidation: the use or threat of force and the "big stick" throughout the entire world. At the time, the aircraft-carrier *Eisenhower* was located near Libya and the "Bright Star-83" military manoeuvres were being conducted.

9. Today, a year later, the United States is continuing to spy on Libya with its AWACS aircraft and to engage in displays of force against that fraternal non-aligned country. The United States does not understand—or does not wish to understand—that the Libyan revolution, its leaders and people, as well as the revolution in Nicaragua, cannot be defeated by brute force, still less by demonstrations of force. The United States does not understand that its warmongering policies will elicit in response only the just wrath of our peoples, who will rise up in arms and, after a popular revolutionary war, turn their countries into more Viet Nams awaiting United States invading forces. We hope that President Reagan will think twice and that Central America, North Africa, southern Africa and the Middle East will not become places where our citizens will meet their death; nor do we want those regions to become burial-grounds for hundreds of thousands of invading American soldiers—which will surely occur if they challenge the fighting spirit and determination of our peoples.

10. My delegation is not at all surprised at the spirit of adventurism and interventionism underlying United States foreign policy. On many occasions the Council has been the scene of complaints from Libya, Angola, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), Nicaragua and others as a result of the interventionist nature of the United States which, through whatever means available, attempts to impose its imperialist will on our peoples and Governments. We have also witnessed the cynicism that has characterized the various United States representatives who give the name of freedom fighters to the mercenaries of the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), who are trying to overthrow my Government from Honduran territory, and the name of terrorists to the fighting patriots of the PLO and SWAPO, who are just trying to win back their territories occupied by zionism and *apartheid*, régimes which, as we all know, are strategic allies of United States imperialism.

11. I do not intend on this occasion to dwell on denunciations of United States policies in this region, nor will I speak at length about the parallel and similar nature of the policies it is pursuing in Africa and the Middle East. The representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya spoke at considerable length a few days ago about the military interventions of the self-appointed defenders of freedom and democracy throughout the world since the last century. He cited, among other examples and solely with reference to those in Latin America, Grenada, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Panama, as well as Nicaragua and El Salvador at the present time, which should be sufficient to make the point.

12. I shall merely adduce some additional serious examples in order to establish the similarity between the actions carried out against Libya and those against my country. At the time of Libya's earlier complaint to the Security Council in August 1983, as the United States was bringing in the aircraft-carrier *Eisenhower* and carrying out the "Bright Star-83" manoeuvres to intimidate Libya, it was carrying out the "Big Pine-II" manoeuvres in Central America, on Honduran territory. Now, at the time of this new complaint, as we witness an increase in the presence of the AWACS aircraft and the creation of alleged Libyan conflicts and acts of aggression in order to stir up enmity between Libya and its neighbours, in Central America and specifically with respect to Nicaragua, efforts to find a negotiated political solution to the problems in our region are being exhausted, the United States military presence is being intensified and acts of aggression from neighbouring countries are being stepped up.

13. All these acts of aggression make us wonder about the validity of the principles of international law to this permanent member of the Council. What respect for the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of countries has a Government that publicly and brazenly debates the appropriation of $21 million for the murder of Nicaraguans? What respect for the principle of the inviolability of borders has a Government that believes it has the right, based on its technological superiority, to spy on any country by flying through its airspace? According to this logic, any country whose rights are thus violated and which can obtain the necessary tech-

nical means can bring down these planes, in full exercise of the well-known ensuing international right. In my country an incident occurred recently where we were forced to bring down a United States helicopter which, like others before it, entered our airspace to carry out espionage and supply the CIA-backed mercenaries. I wish to explain that we were the first to express regret over the incident, in spite of there having been a flagrant violation of our borders, because it caused the death of a United States citizen, bringing mourning to an honest family in that country, whose only fault was to have served under one of the most inflexible and militaristic Administrations in the history of the United States. However, I wish at the same time to point out that such incidents, if they were to continue, could be used to spark a war between neighbours or justify direct intervention, alone or with the help of friends, as has happened in the past in order to begin wars elsewhere. Let us merely recall the sinking of the *Maine* off Cuba, which was used as a pretext for beginning the war against Spain, and the Tonkin Gulf incident in Viet Nam.

14. Just a few days ago in this same forum [*2521st meeting*], my delegation declared its surprise at the irresponsibility of the Reagan Administration in attempting to obtain $114 million from the Congress for the sowing of death and destruction in Central America. The funds would be taken from an aid programme for hungry African children, thus sowing death in that continent also by allowing the death rate to increase. We also expressed the conviction that sooner or later our African brothers would realize who was the primary cause of their problems and who, by supporting the racist régime of Pretoria, was the main obstacle to their development.

15. Before concluding my statement today, I wish to reiterate our militant solidarity with the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and state our great concern at the political and military actions being conducted by the present United States Administration, whose sole intention is to maintain its hegemonistic interests by keeping the Arab nation divided. We are sure that our Arab brothers know the identity of the main obstacle confronting them—who it is that backs, and, indeed, has a strategic alliance with, the Zionist régime. We are also sure that sooner or later they will unite and free themselves from oppression and aggression and recover their territories that are occupied today and live in peace and tranquillity.

16. The fact that Mr. Reagan needs a foreign-policy triumph today more than ever, especially since his shameful defeat in Lebanon, and solely for electoral ends, should be of fundamental concern to Council members, the non-aligned and the whole international community. We sincerely hope that this does not lead to a conflict of regrettable consequences for mankind, but we believe that the fact just mentioned is where the explanation must be sought for the threats and acts of aggression against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

17. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Mongolia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

18. Mr. ERDENECHULUUN (Mongolia) [*interpretation from Russian*]: On behalf of the Mongolian People's Republic, I should like at the outset to express deep condolences to the Government and people of Guinea on the untimely death of the President of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré, an outstanding African statesman and staunch champion of the cause of the freedom and independence of peoples.

19. The Mongolian delegation takes great pleasure in seeing you, Mr. President, presiding over the Security Council, a principal organ of the United Nations, entrusted with the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. We whole-heartedly welcome you and the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and wish you the greatest success in the performance of your responsible duties.

[*The speaker continued in English.*]

20. My delegation pays a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella, the representative of Peru, for the able manner in which he conducted the Council's work last month.

21. I am grateful to you, Mr. President, and other members of the Council for having given me an opportunity to state the position of my country on the question at present under consideration.

22. The Council is seized of the complaint by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, which requested an urgent meeting of the Council to consider the deteriorating situation resulting from hostile and provocative acts of the United States directed against that country.

23. In a letter of 20 March 1984 [*S/16425*], as well as in the statement of 28 March by the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mr. Ali Treiki [*2522nd meeting*], the attention of the Council was drawn to the causes of the situation currently prevailing in that part of the world.

24. One should point out here that this is not the first time that Libya has become an object of repeated acts of intimidation and direct threats. Last year the Council had to deal on more than one occasion with the United States provocations against the sovereignty of Libya. Today, that country is faced with yet another hostile campaign of threats and intimidation. This time, the recent reported events concerning the incident with an unidentified aircraft which, on 16 March, bombed Omdurman have been exploited for such a campaign.

25. Once again—as if everything was prearranged—reconnaissance AWACS planes and other military

hardware have been dispatched to the region with enviable speed. One hardly needs to recall here the ever-increasing military presence of the United States in the world in general and in that region in particular. The most ominous sign of this can be found in the stationing of nuclear weapons—namely, cruise missiles—a few hundred miles away from African, Mediterranean and other neighbouring countries. Thus a situation has been brought about which seriously endangers international peace and security.

26. It is obvious that these developments can in no way be divorced from the overall policy of United States imperialism, which arbitrarily declares whole regions of the world situated thousands of miles away from the American coasts as zones of "vital interest". In these actions one cannot but see imperialist attempts to impose neo-colonialist solutions on other countries, to consolidate further its positions in that strategically important area rich in mineral resources.

27. It should be noted here that shows of force and muscle flexing have become a matter of routine in imperialist conduct these days. Those policies of the United States Administration are in flagrant contravention of the Charter of the United Nations and the generally accepted norms and principles of international law.

28. The Mongolian People's Republic fully shares the alarm and concern voiced by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya at the further exacerbation of the situation in that region and expresses its full support for and solidarity with that country in defence of its sovereignty and national independence.

29. We believe that the outstanding issues can and must be resolved through political means in the interests of the peoples of the region without outside interference.

30. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Afghanistan. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

31. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan): I should like, at the outset, to express the sincere condolences of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to the delegation of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea on the sad demise of President Ahmed Sékou Touré. As a staunch fighter for the cause of his nation's independence from French colonialist rule, President Sékou Touré earned the respect and admiration not only of the people of Guinea but of the peoples all over Africa and the world. He will be long remembered.

32. May I, Sir, extend to you our warmest felicitations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. In view of your outstanding diplomatic and human qualities, we are certain that under your able guidance the Council will satisfactorily discharge its responsibilities. My words of appreciation go also to your predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella, representative of Peru, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the work of the Council during the busy month of March.

33. It has now become a routine matter for the United States to appear in the Council as a defendant. It has become even more routine for the Council to consider complaints against two of the closest partners of the United States, namely the Zionist entity and the racist minority *apartheid* régime in South Africa. In the case of the United States, however, these complaints do not emanate from one region only: they come from Asia, from Africa and from Latin America.

34. That fact is not just indicative of the hatred of peoples all over the world towards the aggressive, interventionist and warmongering policies of United States imperialism; it is testimony to the determination of Member States to continue their struggle for the preservation of their independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity, even if it means standing up against the most monstrous military might. It also vividly shows the confidence and trust which Member States place in the Security Council and their expectations of this supreme body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.

35. What they have achieved so far has been either futile debate with acrimonious polemics or, at best, a deliberately vague and excessively watered-down resolution. Even such resolutions have remained unimplemented, thanks to the defiance of some of the very members who voted in the affirmative.

36. But they still keep coming to the Council, for the obvious reason that there is no other place in the world with more appropriate responsibility and authority. They come because they feel threatened by those for whom they are no match. They come also because they believe in the peaceful settlement of disputes among nations.

37. This is not the first time that all those reasons have come together to prompt a decision by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to bring its legitimate case before the Council. Nor is it the first time that the United States has been responsible for the creation of a situation warranting the convening of the Council.

38. It should be recalled that, since the victory of the people's revolution in Libya and the emancipation of the Libyan people from the bondage of United States neo-colonialism, a disproportionately large campaign of lies and defamation has accompanied an all-out United States economic, political and military blockade of and direct armed aggression and acts of provocation against Libya. Through the years, the devilish animosity of the United States towards Libya has developed a frightening, sadistic complexion that manifests itself now in one form and now in another.

39. All the admirers of the late, unlamented Herr Goebbels have just cause for alarm: the reputation of the Hitlerite propagandist is in real danger of being eclipsed by the growing renown of the United States Administration's accursed lying apparatus. The Nazi technique of continuing to repeat a lie in the hope of its acquiring a semblance of truth and of continuing to sling mud with the expectation of some of it sticking is being practised by the inheritors of the mantle of the Third Reich in this regard, who are seeking to perfect it. The technique has been upgraded, with the warlords of Washington seeking to convict others—including the victims—of their own outrageous crimes.

40. Thus, a false and fundamentally distorted image is drawn of Libya and its foreign policy. The initial intention was to force some countries of the region into the American orbit by scaring them with an imaginary and hypothetical threat from Libya. This lie has been so often repeated that even the inventor of the lie, the United States, seems to believe it.

41. The present scenario is all too familiar. It reads as follows: "It is a bird. No, wait: it is a plane: It is a Soviet-made plane. It is a Soviet-made, Libyan-owned plane." But the world observes, "Oh, no; it is an AWACS plane."

42. Little more than a year ago the United States was trumpeting, with full force, charges that Libya was massing its troops along the frontiers of a neighbouring State and was preparing to launch an act of aggression against that State. But long before the smoke-screen dispersed and the propaganda dust settled, little doubt remained in the mind of the international community about the real cause of the escalating tension in that region. The Pentagon's strategists had considered it imperative to deploy more detachments of their armada in the region, and, in order to justify that action, they desperately needed a pretext. The CIA cooked up a design which was carried out in large part by the imperialist disinformation and misinformation monopolies. Libya was to be accused of preparing to attack a neighbouring State. Provocative and slanderous statements were made against Libya, its people, its revolution and its leadership. The aircraft-carriers *Nimitz* and *Eisenhower* were dispatched to roar along the shores of Libya in a deliberate show of force. The "Bright Star" manoeuvres were conducted in the close proximity of Libyan territory with full participation by United States ground, naval and air forces. In a stark act of aggression, United States fighter-planes belonging to the Sixth Fleet attacked Libyan planes which were on a reconnaissance flight over the territorial waters of Libya and shot down two of the Libyan aircraft. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, after examining the situation at the request of Libya, condemned the United States act of aggression. The Security Council, however, was paralysed in its meetings on the subject in February and August 1983, owing to the veto cast by the United States. Since then, many covert and overt attempts have been made to destabilize Libya and to bring about a deterioration of the situation in the region.

43. The Council is expected by all small and militarily weak Member States to call to order those States—particularly those which are permanent members of the Council—which tend to pose a threat to international peace and security.

44. As Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, said on the occasion of the Afghan new year, which begins on 20 March:

> "We consider it our main duty to defend peace and security in the international arena. Pursuing this policy, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan strongly condemns the strivings of the imperialists, headed by United States imperialism, directed towards the intensification of tension in the world and intervention in the internal affairs of independent countries, and its militaristic and warmongering policy."

45. Mr. President, I should like to conclude by thanking you and, through you, the Council for affording my delegation the opportunity to appear before the Council and to make this statement.

46. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Czechoslovakia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

47. Mr. KOVAČIČ (Czechoslovakia): It was with great sorrow that the Government and the people of Czechoslovakia received the news of the death of President Ahmed Sékou Touré of Guinea, a great son of Africa, who throughout his life strove for the liberation of the black continent in order to rid Africa of colonialism and neo-colonialism and for the unity and solidarity of the African nation. We shall remember his contribution to the forming of the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and to the constant growth of their progressive role; and we shall not forget his personal and political contribution to the development of friendship and co-operation between the Czechoslovak and Guinean peoples. On behalf of the Czechoslovak delegation, I should like to convey through you, Sir, our profound condolences to the people and the Government of Guinea and to President Sékou Touré's family.

48. I wish at the outset to thank you, Mr. President, and all the other members of the Council for the opportunity to address this forum, as the representative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, on the issue on the agenda today. Let me also extend to you, the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, my sincerest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current

month and express my profound conviction that your personal qualities and diplomatic skill and experience guarantee the fulfilment of the mission and the mandate of the Council to safeguard international peace and security. May I also express my appreciation of the exemplary performance of your predecessor in the presidency, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, the representative of Peru.

49. After a lapse of not much more than seven months, the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has again been compelled to turn to the Council in a situation where it is being subjected to hostile campaigns and provocations and its security increasingly threatened. The Council must again deal with acts directed against a sovereign Member State which are incompatible with the Charter and the principles of international conduct among States. And again the same forces in the United States are connected with these acts.

50. This time the pretext given for hostile anti-Libyan statements by leading representatives of the United States, for stepped-up provocative military measures and for fanning hostility among neighbouring Arab States against Libya is the alleged participation by Libya in the bombing of a Sudanese town. Belligerent measures by the United States followed with remarkable speed and purpose—very much like the armed aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, on the pretext of the so-called Tonkin Gulf incident, which, as has been amply proved, was staged by the United States itself; and very much like the recent armed aggression against Grenada, on the equally artificially construed pretext of an alleged threat to the lives of United States citizens.

51. Hostile acts by the United States against Libya are neither new nor isolated. Almost immediately after the victory of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial revolution in Libya, that country has been the target of attacks and of military, political and economic pressure by the United States and other imperialist Powers. These acts must, at the same time, be seen within the context of the efforts by imperialist forces, headed by the United States, to regain supremacy over the nations of Africa, to limit those nations' sovereignty and independence and to make them docile in keeping with neocolonialist behaviour.

52. The belligerent acts against Libya are not an isolated phenomenon in the foreign-policy strategy of the United States. The Washington Administration is stepping up armaments, carrying out a policy of blackmail and diktat and arbitrarily proclaiming so-called United States spheres of vital interests. It has become apparent that this Administration does not at all hesitate to use armed force to suppress revolutionary liberation movements, as attested to by the aggression against Grenada, the events in Lebanon and the situation with regard to Nicaragua. The deployment of new United States nuclear first-strike weapons on the territories of three Western European countries, pressure and threats against Cuba, Syria and other non-aligned and progressive developing nations and the strengthening of the United States presence in the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean —all this is fraught with great danger. It is precisely the stepped-up armaments, the acts of pressure and aggression by the reactionary forces of imperialism, headed by the United States, such as the hostile acts against Libya, which must be seen as being at the root of the deteriorating international situation.

53. The Czechoslovak Government and people are gravely concerned at the escalating acts of pressure and provocation against the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, a sovereign independent State actively participating in the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist struggle of the entire progressive mankind, a State whose extensive relations with my own country have been reflected in a treaty of friendship and co-operation and are being further developed on that basis to the benefit of the peoples of both countries.

54. The Government and the people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic resolutely condemn the hostile acts against Libya and its friendly people and against Libyan sovereignty and independence—acts which, at the same time, constitute a threat to international peace and security. We are in complete solidarity with the Libyan people, which resolutely resists these provocations and this pressure. It is our expectation that the consideration of Libya's legitimate complaint in the Council will result in the halting of these arbitrary acts.

55. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

56. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Mr. President, I would like first of all to convey to you our keen satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the meetings of the Council this month. Your recognized talent and diplomatic skill, as well as your commitment to principles, guarantee beforehand the success of our work.

57. As I thank the other members, through you, for giving me the opportunity to take part in today's debate, I would like to say how pleased my delegation was over the impeccable way in which Mr. Javier Arias Stella, representative of Peru, conducted the work of the Council in March.

58. In the last few weeks we have witnessed a dangerous aggravation of the situation in the Middle East and the eastern portion of North Africa.

59. After the failure of reckless United States and Israeli meddling in Lebanon, where the patriotic forces prevented the consummation of a new betrayal of the Arab nation and the cause of the Palestinian people,

like the one hatched at Camp David in 1978, imperialism is trying to devise new excuses for maintaining and broadening its military presence in the region while at the same time channelling its policy against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in new directions.

60. Whereas in the past the United States violated Libyan sovereignty and attacked aeroplanes of that non-aligned country over the Gulf of Sidra, acts that were condemned by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, now it is devising the fable of a Libyan bombing of Omdurman in the neighbouring Sudan in order to increase its military aid to allies in the region and to send new AWACS spy planes to strengthen its activities against the revolutionary peoples and countries of Africa and the Middle East.

61. This is not a new technique. Twenty-three years ago, in this same forum, the then representative of the United States stated with characteristic impudence that Cuban Air Force aircraft flown by "rebel officers" were to blame for the bombing of the airports of Havana on 15 April 1961. However, everyone knows that those planes, in fact, belonged to the United States Air Force and had been dispatched by the CIA to guarantee control of the air for the mercenary forces which it sent a few days later against Playa Girón, where imperialism suffered a historic defeat.

62. Let us also recall the Gulf of Tonkin incident and the mining of Vietnamese ports which were a prelude to the dirty imperialist war against heroic Viet Nam. In the last few days, the sinister hand of the CIA has become evident yet again in Nicaragua with the mining of various ports of that fraternal country, an action that is a breach of international law and the Charter of the United Nations and which cannot fail to acquire special meaning in the light of these precedents.

63. There can be no doubt at all that the community of nations, and in particular the Council, whose prime responsibility is the maintenance of international peace and security, have very good reason to be disturbed in the light of the dangerous turn taken by the international situation at the present time as a consequence of the warmongering adventurism that has been manifested by each of the acts of the current United States Administration.

64. Old conflicts remain unresolved while new focal points of tension are in danger of assuming greater and more dangerous proportions.

65. Genuine peace initiatives, such as the United Nations plan for Namibia, the Fez plan, the resolutions of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine and the peace-seeking efforts of the Contadora Group meet with undisguised hostility on the part of imperialism when they do not simply become bogged down in the dead end of mere formal support lacking a genuine and necessary political will to find just and lasting solutions to the conflicts.

66. Therefore it is essential, in no uncertain terms, to denounce imperialism, whether in the case of its stationing of new nuclear devices in Western Europe in the vain attempt to alter in its favour the international balance of forces; when it blocks any path to understanding or a solution of the grave economic and financial problems facing the underdeveloped countries; or when it seeks to drown in blood the aspirations of the peoples, intervening in the internal affairs of other countries, as in the case of El Salvador, or invade them, as in the case of Grenada, or destabilizing their Governments, as in the case of Nicaragua.

67. The threats now hovering over the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya are identical to those daily made against Nicaragua or against my country, against the patriots of the Polisario Front, or the Salvadorian Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, against the People's Republic of Angola or the Syrian Arab Republic, against the PLO, the African National Congress of South Africa or SWAPO.

68. The revolutionary Government of Cuba—which holds as unswerving principles of its foreign policy solidarity with the peoples struggling for their liberation; the defence of peace and security of all States, large and small; the struggle to bring about international détente; the right of peoples to development and to a genuinely independent life; the establishment of a new international economic order; and the advent of a world free of wars, nuclear weapons and military blocs—firmly supports its Libyan brothers and their right to denounce the policy of aggression and pressure unleashed against the Jamahiriya by the United States Government.

69. It is essential to bring to an end the political and military interference of imperialism in the Middle East and neighbouring regions, as well as all acts of provocation and threats to the sovereignty of Libya. If the Council does not once and for all bridle the warhorse of imperialism, no one tomorrow will be able to halt the emergence of a new world conflict which could put an end to life on earth.

70. We trust that sooner rather than later the conviction that such a monstrous destiny is possible will ensure that reason and justice prevail in international relations.

71. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Hungary. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

72. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): Mr. President, at the very outset I should like sincerely to thank you and, through you, the other members of the Council for inviting my delegation to the deliberations of this body and for giving me the opportunity to express our view with regard to the item on the agenda.

73. But before I turn to the issue under discussion, please allow me to convey our condolences to the delegation of Guinea on the untimely passing away of President Ahmed Sékou Touré, a great son of Africa and one of the founding fathers of the Organization of African Unity. Mr. Sékou Touré's resolute stand and unceasing activities for the elimination of the shameful colonial system and for independence, peace and development, as well as his uncompromising struggle against all forms of exploitation, earned him respect and international prestige. We are confident that his devotion will always serve as a bright example to the generations to come and will continue to inspire those who are struggling for the same lofty goals.

74. It is a great honour and privilege for me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of April. It is my pleasure to see in the Chair a representative of the neighbourly Ukrainian people, with which we have traditionally good, fraternal relations, and to express my confidence that your known diplomatic skill and wisdom will contribute greatly to the success of the Council's work. I should also like to express our appreciation of the exemplary manner in which your predecessor, the representative of Peru, conducted the work of the Council last month.

75. The international community has become very sensitive to every kind of international tension—and rightly so, because in many parts of the world the dimensions of confrontation are growing to dangerous proportions. Today the Council is discussing an issue which has been in the forefront of attention for some time. This is not the first time that Libya has had to resort to requesting the calling of a meeting of the Council because its security has been threatened by the military presence of a Power alien to the region. The details of the past developments and those of the overall propaganda campaign to which Libya has for many years been subjected are too well known to all present.

76. The sending by the United States of two AWACS aircraft to the region to carry out spy missions against Libya is yet another manifestation of the anti-Libyan manoeuvres that constitute an act of provocation and amount to a military threat. More significant is that this step and the hysteria that accompanied it clearly demonstrate that some of the influential circles in international politics will stop at nothing to use any pretext for muscle-flexing. Those circles keep on stubbornly ignoring the genuine interests of mankind and the corresponding wish of all peoples to alleviate international tension and to promote the spirit of mutual understanding among nations.

77. As several speakers who have spoken before me in this debate have pointed out, the real aim of the United States Administration in North Africa, as it is in many other parts of the world, is to strengthen its position and to increase its military presence—even in faraway regions. In pursuing these goals a double standard is being applied, which means blind forgiveness *vis-à-vis* some régimes and all kinds of pressure against independent nations that are not to Washington's liking. But international law and the Charter of the United Nations do not differentiate in terms of friendly or unfriendly States. Their principles and provisions aimed at protecting the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States must be respected, with no exception.

78. Hungary is in full solidarity with Libya and with every nation struggling for the respect for, and full realization of, the aforementioned principles, for genuine independence and against external pressure.

79. The aim of the ongoing campaign against Libya is not only to try to intimidate that country, to discredit it among the African nations, to sow the seeds of discord and conflict among peoples with common traditions and similar aspirations—a policy well known from colonial times—but also deliberately to poison the international atmosphere. This is a very dangerous course, because no one can lose sight of the possibility that provocations of this nature may lead to unpredictable consequences, jeopardize the stability of the region in question and threaten international peace and security as a whole. This is why we feel concern about any sign of an increase in the mood of confrontation and any developments that add to the strains of the already tense international situation. It is our firm conviction that in the long run only reason, self-restraint and mutual respect for one another's interests can bring about the normalization and development of relations among all countries and peoples the world over.

80. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I now call on the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

81. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: I should like to extend to you, Sir, the congratulations of the delegation of the Jamahiriya on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I congratulate you not only because you represent a friendly country which is bound to my country by links of friendship and cooperation, but also because of your well-known ability and wisdom, which will ensure that the Council's work for this month is crowned with success.

82. I also extend the thanks and appreciation of my delegation for the constructive and outstanding manner in which your predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella, the representative of Peru, conducted the Council's business last month.

83. The Council is meeting on the same day to discuss complaints from two small, peaceable, non-aligned countries about intervention and aggression by the United States Administration. I believe that it is rare in the Council's history for it to witness such a situation,

in which the delegations of two small countries lodge complaints against a permanent member of the Council, which is supposed to be responsible for the maintenance of peace and security and respect for the Charter of the United Nations and for defence of its principles. But those who drew up the Charter and agreed to give the United States permanent membership of the Council never thought, I think, that the annals of the Organization, and of the Council in particular, would be replete with innumerable violations of the Charter by the United States. Indeed, it has launched aggression at the same time against Nicaragua, Libya, Angola, Palestine and in various other parts of the world.

84. As small, non-aligned countries we do not seek hostility for the sake of hostility, and we do not seek problems for the sake of problems. We want to live in peace. We want to be free in our countries, free to choose our socio-economic systems as we deem appropriate. Millions of human beings have been sacrificed in defence of our freedom, and we do not want to turn that freedom over to the United States.

85. We are willing to engage in dialogue, and to establish sound relations with all in accordance with principles and mutual respect. But we will not acquiesce, and we will not sell our independence, even for billions of dollars. We want problems among States to be solved peacefully through bilateral or regional channels.

86. The picture is becoming clearer every day. President Nimeiri announced today his discovery of a *coup* attempt in the Sudan. His declaration concerning that attempt clarifies the fabrications and the scenario and the real reason for what has happened. We do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of the Sudan, but we will not accept the exploitation of the fraternal Sudan by the enemies of the Arab nation and the allies of zionism to commit aggression against us and create problems between us and our brothers.

87. As members are aware, in recent days the delegations of many States—European, Latin American, African and Asian—have spoken before the Council. All have been unanimous in condemning the aggression. Indeed, members have probably noted that not a single one has defended the United States, in spite of its billions, its armadas, its Rapid Deployment Forces and manoeuvres. That fact holds the promise that the world is still all right—that neither force nor billions or dollars can buy the conscience of peoples. Still less can the aircraft-carrier policy force peoples to abandon their convictions.

88. The Council must shoulder its responsibilities and tell the United States to desist from violating the Charter and taking lightly the Security Council and the United Nations. It must tell the United States that respect and friendship cannot be bought with dollars, cannot be achieved by the aircraft-carriers the *New Jersey* or the *Eisenhower*. It must tell the United States to stop interfering in the affairs of other States. Such an appeal may be useful, though, unfortunately, we all know that the great Power in question, with its tremendous potential, which could have been harnessed in the service of peace and the prosperity of peoples, has been humiliated and manipulated by world zionism into using that potential for its own benefit and for the oppression of peoples.

89. Those who have been following developments in the United States election campaign can see the unfortunate extent of the penetration by this monstrous octopus, the movement known as zionism. The candidates compete with one another as though they were candidates for an election in Israel, defending the Zionist entity. They argue over who would be the first to move the embassy to Jerusalem, despite the numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

90. I would assure the Council that my delegation and our small, peaceable people are proud of the great support and all the backing and solidarity on the part of peace- and freedom-loving peoples. But even if the Council remains unable to adopt an appropriate resolution, owing to circumstances which are well known to its members, there will be an end to injustice. Even if they are small, peoples are able to make sacrifices.

91. The people of the Jamahiriya, which is committed to all international laws and instruments, affirms its full confidence in the Council and its full belief in the United Nations and its survival, although some would like to wave us a fond farewell, as has been said in the Council. The United Nations, its principles and its objectives will survive, and the aggressors will meet their just end. The history of peoples—most recently in Viet Nam—has taught us that the forces of injustice will meet their end.

92. Mr. CLARK (United States of America): We, too, wish to extend to you, Sir, congratulations on your assuming the presidency for this month, and we trust you will discharge your heavy responsibilities with great distinction and impartiality.

93. I should just like to say that we cannot agree that the dreary litany—to which the Council has listened so patiently—by non-members of the Council, members not known for their independent voting record, and by the most aligned members of the non-aligned, means much of anything at all.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

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THIRTY-NINTH YEAR

2527th MEETING: 2 APRIL 1984

NEW YORK

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2527th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 2 April 1984, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Vladimir Alekseyevich KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2527)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 29 March 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16449)

The meeting was called to order at 4.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 29 March 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16449)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: In accordance with the decision taken at the 2525th meeting, I invite the representatives of Guyana and Honduras to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sinclair (Guyana) and Mr. Flores Bermúdez (Honduras) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Mexico and the Syrian Arab Republic in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Kovačič (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Marín Bosch (Mexico) and Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Security Council will now resume consideration of the item on its agenda.

4. Mr. LOUET (France) [*interpretation from French*]: First, I wish to congratulate you sincerely, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of April. I assure you of the friendly co-operation of the French delegation as you discharge your functions. I would request you to transmit to your predecessor, the representative of Peru, our thanks for the outstanding way in which he carried out his responsibilities last month.

5. France has very deep feelings about the increasing seriousness and escalation of the armed actions in Nicaragua. Indeed, as we heard at our last meeting on this item, eight ships have been damaged—some have even been destroyed—by mines in Nicaraguan ports.

6. There are serious threats not only to the economic life of the country, which could be slowly suffocated and finally paralysed, but also to the very life of its inhabitants. In fact, out of fear that such tragic accidents might reoccur, entire shiploads have been rerouted. They will be able to be delivered to their original destination only with considerable delay and at great cost, and only if the neighbouring countries' transport systems make this possible. Among these cargoes are grains and other vital necessities, shipments for humanitarian assistance—coming sometimes from Europe, including France—medication essential to protect the health of a population that has already suffered so much from malnutrition and underdevelopment, as well as natural disasters.

7. Therefore, France strongly condemns this escalation of the violence, and this type of new action which, by interfering with free access to the port facilities of a sovereign country, is leading to a kind of blockade in disguise, which is in fundamental opposition to the great principles of international law.

8. In its resolution 530 (1983), the Security Council reaffirmed the right of Nicaragua and of all the other countries of the area to live in peace and security, free

from outside interference, also expressing its support for the efforts of the Contadora Group. That position was endorsed by the General Assembly on 11 November 1983, when it adopted its resolution 38/10, whereby all the countries of the international community undertook to encourage the search for a peaceful development of the situation in Central America.

9. But what has taken place recently? There has been a stepped-up foreign military presence, a continued arms race and an escalation of destabilizing activities. My country is deeply concerned by this increase in tensions, which heightens the threat of an irreversible broadening of the region's conflicts.

10. Moreover, it is well known that Nicaragua has recently made a number of positive gestures intended to take account of the concerns of those who quite rightly desire an overall settlement which would resolve the various aspects of the Central American crisis.

11. France pays a tribute to the efforts made by the four countries of the Contadora Group, who are working to find a solution which would be satisfactory to all the countries of the region, laying the foundations for a lasting regional settlement based on the principles of non-interference and respect for the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of States.

12. The chain of violence in the countries of the area —in Nicaragua, but in El Salvador as well—must be broken. The countries of Central America must be permitted once again to solve their problems for themselves. They are entitled to demand respect for their independence and peace and security for their peoples. From that standpoint, the continuing Contadora process must now aim to transform those principles into concrete measures. This would involve a halt in demonstrations of strength and an end to violence and to interference by countries from outside the region in the internal affairs of Central American States.

13. Only military de-escalation will make it possible, in a restored peace, to attain those priority goals of democracy and development which the States of the region, along with France and the rest of the international community, so ardently desire.

14. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): I should like, Sir, to begin by congratulating you, the distinguished representative of a friendly Member State, on your assumption of the high office of President of the Council for the month that has just begun. Your tenure as President has commenced on a sombre note, as the Council is once again seized of the troubled situation in Central America on the basis of a complaint by Nicaragua. Having had the privilege of working with you on other occasions, I am confident that you will bring to bear your considerable diplomatic skills and capabilities, as well as your eminent personal qualities on the discharge of your current responsibilities.

15. To your predecessor, Mr. President, we pay a tribute for the admirable manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the Council during the month of March. The period of Mr. Arias Stella's presidency was indeed a difficult and delicate one, during which the Council was confronted with several complex and serious situations. Nevertheless, he guided our proceedings with his customary diligence and competence. We are in debt to him for his patience and wisdom.

16. Nearly a year has elapsed since the Security Council adopted resolution 530 (1983) on the subject that is again before our consideration today. That resolution, *inter alia*, reaffirmed the right of Nicaragua and of all the other countries of the area to live in peace and security, free from outside interference; commended the efforts of the Contadora Group and urged that they be pursued; and appealed urgently to the interested States to co-operate fully with the Contadora Group, through a frank and constructive dialogue, so as to resolve their differences. Regrettably, in spite of the determined endeavours of the Contadora countries, peace and stability in Central America remain but a distant dream. Nicaragua, on the basis of whose plaint the Council adopted resolution 530 (1983), feels compelled yet again to seek the Council's protection.

17. In November last year the General Assembly took what many of us deemed to be one of the most significant decisions of its thirty-eighth session when it adopted by consensus its resolution 38/10 on "The situation in Central America: threats to international security and peace initiatives". That resolution was the product of many hours—indeed, many days—of tortuous negotiations among the members of the Contadora Group and the countries directly concerned. That resolution, *inter alia*, unequivocally reaffirmed the right of all the countries of the Central American region to live in peace and to decide their own future, free from all outside interference or intervention; affirmed that respect for the sovereignty and independence of all States of the region was essential to ensure the security and peaceful coexistence of the Central American States; and expressed support for the efforts of the Contadora Group.

18. It was our hope that such an unequivocal pronouncement, made without a vote, by the General Assembly would be the harbinger of peaceful negotiated solutions to the problems of the region. Even more important, it was our expectation that resort to militarism and solutions based on force would come to an end. The very fact that, on so vexed an issue as this, it had been possible to persuade the parties directly concerned to adopt a consensus greatly encouraged the international community to look forward to an improvement in the situation on the ground.

19. It is regrettable that this has not been the case and that, on the whole, things have gone from bad to worse. That Nicaragua has felt obliged to have recourse to the

Council yet again testifies to the fact that, far from being alleviated, its concerns have remained unmet and have even become more pressing and intense. Mr. Chamorro Mora of Nicaragua, in his comprehensive exposition to the Council last Friday [*2525th meeting*], yet again brought to it a series of allegations of acts of aggression, subversion and other forms of provocation directed against his country.

20. Nicaragua has also complained of a new kind of provocation, in recent times, in the form of mining of its ports, coupled with attacks on ships visiting them. Such acts, apart from causing disruption to the Nicaraguan economy, cannot but pose grave dangers to international navigation, which has indeed already been adversely affected. Nicaragua's concerns are deep-rooted and legitimate and strike a responsive chord in the hearts of the Government and people of India, enjoying as they do fraternal feelings for the Nicaraguan Government and people.

21. I have had more than one occasion in this Council in the past to set out the position of the countries of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries with respect to the situation in Central America. I need not, therefore, repeat what was said on the matter by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State of Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi a year ago. It is pertinent for me, however, to draw the Council's attention to the text of the latest *communiqué* adopted on the subject by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which met in urgent session in New York on 15 March [*S/16422, annex*]. Permit me to quote from it the following excerpts:

> "Conscious of the urgent need to reduce tension in the area in order to facilitate dialogue, the Co-ordinating Bureau commended once again the constructive efforts of the Contadora Group towards finding a political solution to the problems of the region and urged them to continue their peace efforts. In this context, the Bureau noted with interest the advances made with respect to elections in various countries of the region, and highlighted the importance of making use of democratic processes as a means of bringing about domestic reconciliation in the various countries and détente in the region. It noted with satisfaction that the countries of the region had agreed to take measures which would guarantee effective popular participation in decision-making, taking into account democratic principles, economic development and social justice.
>
> "...
>
> "The Bureau called for an immediate end to all foreign military manoeuvres and activities on Central American territories and coasts, the installations of foreign military bases as well as all threats, attacks and hostile acts against Nicaragua...
>
> "The Co-ordinating Bureau expressed its deep concern over the new escalation of these acts and condemned the reported mining of Nicaraguan seaports which has caused the loss of human life and heavy material damage and which endangers international navigation. It expressed its firm opposition against any measure directed towards a blockade of any State of the region.
>
> "...
>
> "The Co-ordinating Bureau welcomed Nicaragua's firm commitment to peace expressed through its latest initiatives and reiterated its solidarity with the Government of National Reconstruction and the people of Nicaragua in their struggle to defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity and their right to independence."

22. Ever since the Central American region became another focal point of international tension, the Government of India, as indeed the vast majority of the international community, has cautioned against recourse to military means in seeking solutions to regional problems. We have consistently advocated dialogue and negotiation as a peaceful means to reduce tensions and to bring stability to the area. It is an established lesson of history, particularly the tragic history of this troubled and hapless region, that peace and progress can be constructed only upon the foundation of an acceptance of political and socio-economic pluralism, scrupulous observance of the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States and an appreciation of the inherent and deep-rooted problems typical to the region; they cannot rest upon the exclusion of one State or another from the mainstream of regional development on one pretext or the other, nor can they be sustained on the strength of pressures, threats or blandishments.

23. In this context the world has looked with much hope and expectation to the efforts of the Contadora countries to find a comprehensive political solution through dialogue with all the parties concerned. The Contadora exercise has received the blessings and support of the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement. The successful adoption in September 1983 of the Document of Objectives [*S/16041, annex*] marked a significant milestone in that effort. Nicaragua has consistently demonstrated a positive attitude and has made important proposals of its own with a view to bringing about peace and reconciliation. It is regrettable, however, that the endeavours of the Contadora Group have of late been afflicted by a flagging of will and dragging of feet on the part of some countries. External interference has also continued unabated and, from all available indications, even intensified. Such attitudes and actions can only undermine the efforts of the Contadora Group, rendering a political solution even more difficult to achieve.

24. In concluding, let me reiterate our conviction that it would be naive to believe that the problems of Central America, so endemic and rooted in history, can be

tackled through the use or threat of use of force or intervention and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign and independent States. Recourse to such means, apart from trampling upon the rights of countries to their sovereignty and to choosing their own way of life, can only exacerbate tensions, widen the conflict and lead to a disastrous conflagration which none of us would like to see. We deem it imperative that such means be immediately abandoned and that dialogue be given a real chance.

25. Mr. BASSOLE (Upper Volta) [*interpretation from French*]: Mr. President, your term of office has just begun and already you are faced with the harsh realities of the Security Council, which so often has to work to defend and safeguard international peace and security. On this solemn occasion I am happy to tell you how pleased and confident my delegation feels at seeing an eminent son of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic shouldering the heavy responsibilities of President of the Council at so crucial a time. Your ability and keen sense of objectivity and the businesslike manner in which you have always worked within the Council ensure that these meetings and any others that might take place during your presidency will be as successful as the world expects them to be on matters relating to peace and security.

26. I should also like to express my delegation's appreciation to the representative of Peru for the admirably competent manner in which he presided over the work of the Council during the month of March.

27. The Council has listened with interest and concern to the statements made by the representatives of Nicaragua and the United States of America. I say "and concern", for the Council, in responding favourably to Nicaragua's request, might have seemed to be carrying out a ritual. But in fact, if we look carefully at the situation, that is not the case, and the fact that this country, which is having such difficulty now, should have chosen to come to the Council bears witness to the growing scope of tensions in the region.

28. It is the underlying reasons for this tension that my delegation wishes to address, because on them depends whatever solution the Council might adopt to prevent the worst from happening. Our analysis, in this regard, accords fully with that made by the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi a year ago. In their analysis of the situation in Central America, the Caribbean and the South Atlantic, the heads of State or Government observed that Central America was going through a political, social and economic crisis mainly because of the traditional structures of repressive power and national economic structures that encourage poverty, inequality and suffering, which, in turn, have been aggravated by intervention and interference in the activities of the countries of the region since the last century.

29. That analysis was unanimously supported by the international community, with the exception of one of its members, and not the least important: the United States of America, whose viewpoint was expressed recently by the President, according to *The New York Times* of 20 March 1984, to the effect that the problem of Central America was "a power play by Cuba and the Soviet Union, pure and simple".*

30. It is most disturbing to see at that high level so subjective an analysis of a situation so dangerous for international peace and security. It was particularly upsetting, in that it seemed to be the answer given to President François Mitterand, who, speaking courageously and objectively of revolutions in the third world, said, according to *The New York Times* of 22 March:

> "Their roots lie deep in the legacy of the past. Thus, the peoples of Central America have a long history marked by military oppression, social inequality and the confiscation of economic resources and political power by a few. Today, each of them must be allowed to find its own path toward greater justice, greater democracy and greater independence and must be allowed to do so without interference or manipulation."*

Such truths could spring from no better source than such a frank and true ally of the United States.

31. So it is clear that the real reasons for the problems arising here and there in Central America are well known to everybody, including the Reagan Administration, which, for unacknowledgeable reasons also known to all, wants to replace them with others so as to justify its hatred of the Sandinist revolutionary régime.

32. No, the changes in Central America cannot be the result of an East-West ideological confrontation, as that Administration claims.

33. Of course it would be Utopian to consider the critical situation in the region without taking account of the unfavourable developments in the overall world situation, characterized as it is by great-Power confrontation. But it would also be Utopian and naive to refuse to recognize or understand that that crisis has been aggravated by increasing imperialist interference in the internal affairs of States in the region.

34. In stepping up their subversive activities and assorted acts of aggression in order to destabilize the Sandinist revolutionary régime and replace it with a régime more to their taste and beholden to them, the enemies of the Nicaraguan people are giving striking proof that that popular, democratic revolution is proving to be a thorn in their side. Rooted, as it is, deep in the hearts of the people, the Sandinist régime has put a brutal end to the banquet of the predators.

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* Quoted in English by the speaker.

35. The stepped-up American military presence along the borders of Nicaragua is indeed a matter of concern. According to information submitted to the Council by the representative of Nicaragua, the figures amount to more than 2,800 men. This is all the more disturbing, since in the 15 counter-revolutionary camps there are today more than 4,000 counter-revolutionaries who have sworn to overthrow the Managua régime.

36. It is said that it is an obsession to harp on the United States Government's hostility towards the Government of Nicaragua, but we believe in the power of the word, and it is our deep conviction that the Council must speak out, to the extent that the inspirational strength of the word can indeed prevent an evil fate from befalling Nicaragua and the region.

37. During the seventh summit conference of Non-Aligned Countries, the heads of State or Government also spoke out. They spoke in order to call on the Governments of the United States and Honduras to take a more constructive approach, to support peace and dialogue, in accordance with the principles of international law. They also described in no uncertain terms the attitude taken by Nicaragua as a positive one. Hence it is astounding how blithely some people have tried to accuse that State of destabilizing the Governments of neighbouring States—for example, El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica.

38. We are convinced that the Council will be able to discern the truth or falsity of such allegations. As far as we are concerned, they stem, purely and simply, from the desire of those who make such accusations to "divide and rule"; for the Sandinist revolution—which today enjoys popular and almost unanimous support within Nicaragua and unequivocal support among peoples that cherish peace, freedom and justice, as well as among peoples that are struggling against oppression, wretchedness and colonial domination—is the work of Nicaraguan patriots, many of whom have already paid with their lives for daring to defend human dignity. There is no people that can simply import a revolution worthy of the name or have one imposed on it.

39. The Security Council must act firmly if it wishes to prevent other freedom fighters from dying, if it wishes to prevent other invasions like the one of which Grenada was a victim. More than ever before, the Contadora Group must intensify its efforts to find peace in the region.

40. We say this because responses based on bitterness are always unpredictable and indeed uncontrollable. I speak of the rancour gnawing at the heart of the Reagan Administration because Nicaragua is still surviving, its people happy and pleased with the political, economic and social system that it has freely chosen for itself. Of course, that system has nothing in common with the one that some people would like and still relentlessly seek to impose on it. But could the régime against which the Reagan Administration has so ruthlessly and mercilessly been struggling act otherwise, in total disregard for the deeply felt aspirations of its people to freedom, national sovereignty and democracy? The answer is obvious.

41. To say that the régime does not live up to its commitments is surely just another way of misrepresenting the facts. The irrefutable fact is that today the Sandinist National Liberation Front courageously and determinedly refuses to fill the shoes of the dictator Somoza. But even though the United States seems to recognize Somoza for what he was, it never fought for the rights and principles that it claims to defend today in Nicaragua.

42. Nicaragua has always shown good will in its search for political and negotiated solutions to the problems of Central America. Its efforts to this end have often been ridiculed by those who, deep down, wanted things to go differently so as to justify the destabilizing activities carried out against the Sandinist régime. The decision taken by the military junta in power in Nicaragua to organize free and democratic elections in November 1984 is, as far as we are concerned, irrefutable proof of the determination of the authorities of that country to respect scrupulously their commitments.

43. My delegation believes that the eminent Englishman John Stuart Mill was quite right when he said that "a people's search for freedom is an irresistible movement that may be stifled once, twice, many times, but never permanently." But it is seriously to be doubted whether the freedom that Mill spoke about is the same as that to which the representative of the United States referred in her statement of 23 March 1983 [*2420th meeting*].

44. My delegation also believes that repression is not a human or political right, nor is oppression, the practice of racism, *apartheid*, or the policy of expansionism. Whatever the case, we are willing to work in close co-operation with all those who share this belief in order to ensure that such rights are not granted by the Council or any Member of the United Nations to any Government whatsoever. If we all act in concert in this way, we shall be doing something worthwhile.

45. A hungry world that thirsts not only for water but for freedom and justice does not need quarrels between neighbours. The third world is suffering from many serious evils, the solutions to which depend entirely on the political will of those already in power—those whose insatiable lust for domination makes them intellectually and politically shortsighted.

46. Here I am reminded of what was said by Mr. Clausen on 27 September 1983 to the Boards of Governors of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund:

> "When they deal with questions of world security, Governments of countries—developed and devel-

oping—should ask themselves whether every extra million dollars of military expenditure assures over the long term the same degree of security as would an additional million dollars invested in the economic development of the third world."

At this stage in the situations prevailing in the world —notably in Latin America, Central America, the Caribbean, Asia, the Middle East and Africa—that is a question the Council must put to those major Powers that have the very disturbing temptation to oversimplify problems and to boil them down to an ideological struggle for influence.

47. If the whole Council recognized that every State has the right freely to choose its own political, social and economic system, the answer to such questions would be easy to find. Unfortunately, that is not so, which is why we have to meet as often as we do, running the danger of falling into a stale routine.

48. My delegation appeals to the Council to condemn the ever more numerous acts of fresh aggression and intimidation suffered by Nicaragua and the attempt to blockade it by mining its ports. We also appeal to all the States concerned to ensure an end to the non-declared war against Nicaragua and hasten the search for negotiated political solutions to the problems of the region.

49. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): As this is the first time Zimbabwe has spoken in the Council since the sad news of the untimely death of the President of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, I wish first to express my delegation's deep sympathy to the brotherly delegation of Guinea on the passing away of their beloved and great leader. Both my President and my Prime Minister, Mr. Banana and Mr. Mugabe, have already expressed the deep condolences of the Government and people of Zimbabwe to the Government and people of Guinea. Because the late President Ahmed Sékou Touré was a true champion of African independence, freedom and unity, and also because he was an uncompromising advocate of non-alignment, his untimely death is a great loss to the peoples of independent Africa and to the entire non-aligned movement.

50. Secondly, Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you very warmly on your assumption of the stewardship of the Council for the month of April. Unfortunately, your presidency does not promise to be a quiet one, and therefore under you the Council will be extremely busy. Fortunately, however, your vast diplomatic experience and skill give us confidence that under your guidance the Council will be able to discharge its difficult responsibilities. I also wish to express through you my delegation's complete satisfaction with the most exemplary and dignified manner in which the outgoing President, Mr. Arias Stella of Peru, guided the Council's work in March. He certainly gave the Council the benefits of his wisdom and other excellent qualities of leadership and diplomacy.

51. Once again, in a matter of weeks, the Council's attention is being urgently drawn to the dangerously deteriorating Central American situation, which threatens a real conflagration in that region. My delegation has already warned, on several occasions in the Council, that unless this critical situation is checked immediately it will have incalculable consequences for regional stability and international peace and security.

52. We note with very serious concern that since the Council was apprised of the Central American situation by the representative of Nicaragua some three weeks ago the situation has become progressively more critical and dangerous. The activities of counter-revolutionaries against the civilian population and economic infrastructure of Nicaragua have become more numerous, thus gravely undermining peace and stability in that country. It is becoming increasingly clear that the ultimate object of these bands, and of their external masters who provide them with material, financial and military support, is to bring down the legitimate Government of Nicaragua by military means. Thus, lately they have not only intensified their assault against the Sandinist Government, but have also adopted new and more hideous methods, threatening Nicaragua's territorial integrity, political independence and sovereignty. These new methods include the mining of that country's territorial waters, the threat of naval blockade of its coast, and the organization of air raids against both military and economic targets.

53. We must observe with concern that some of the recently introduced methods of aggression are not only resulting in extremely high casualties among civilian populations and causing even greater destabilization of the economy of Nicaragua, but are also seriously endangering international navigation in the whole region. As members of the Council know, incidents resulting in the disruption of maritime traffic have already been reported, and some of them have resulted in injury to innocent seamen, not only from Nicaragua, but from other countries as well.

54. This Council, charged with the primary responsibility for international peace and security, must express its grave concern at the deteriorating Central American situation, now seriously threatening regional stability. It must call upon those responsible for the violation of international law to desist from their injurious activities and to observe strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations requiring all the members of the international community to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of other States. The Council must also demand the strictest respect by those concerned of Nicaragua's right to espouse and develop its own chosen political system, without any external threat or interference.

55. Once again we commend the efforts of the Contadora Group in seeking peaceful solutions to the probems of Central America. We also note with en-

couragement that, despite enormous threats to itself, Nicaragua continues to pledge its fullest co-operation with the Contadora efforts. Even now we are being assured that the Sandinist Government in Nicaragua stands ready to engage in dialogue and negotiations. In this, as also in their determination to defend and develop a socio-economic system of their own sovereign choice, the Government and people of Nicaragua have a right to demand and to expect the support and help of the Security Council. How we wish that those responsible for the mounting regional tension would reciprocate Nicaragua's expressed readiness and desire to search for genuine peace in that region.

56. Mr. LIANG Yufan (China) [*interpretation from Chinese*]: First of all, Sir, please allow me to express my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am sure that, with your rich experience in diplomacy, you will certainly fulfil this important mission with much success. I wish also to avail myself of this opportunity to express my admiration and gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella, representative of Peru, for the outstanding contributions he made during his term as President of the Security Council in March.

57. The Chinese delegation has listened attentively to the statements of Mr. Javier Chamorro Mora, representative of Nicaragua, and of representatives from other countries. And now I would like to speak briefly on our standpoint with regard to the current situation in Central America.

58. Over a period of time the Contadora Group has been endeavouring unremittingly to attain a peaceful settlement to the disputes among the Central American countries, oppose outside interference and ease the tension in the region. Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, together with the five countries of Central America, have engaged in negotiations on several occasions, making it possible for the situation in the region to develop towards a positive orientation. However, the independence and sovereignty of Nicaragua and other Central American countries have been subjected to continuous military threat from outside, which renders it impossible to alleviate the tension in Central America. This naturally causes wide concern for the international community.

59. On 15 March 1984 the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries adopted a *communiqué* on the situation in Central America [*S/16422, annex*], in which it called for "an immediate end to all foreign military manoeuvres and activities on Central American territories and coasts, the installation of foreign military bases as well as all threats, attacks and hostile acts against Nicaragua". The Co-ordinating Bureau also condemned the "mining of Nicaraguan seaports which has caused loss of human life and heavy material damage and which endangers international navigation". That *communiqué* reflects the concern of the third-world countries in general over the present situation in Central America.

60. The Chinese delegation maintains that in order to remove the tension in Central America, it is of vital importance to put an end to all interference and threats from outside and urges the super-Powers to refrain from making Central America an arena for their rivalry and from displaying their military might or resorting to intimidation for that purpose. The independence and sovereignty of Nicaragua and of other Central American countries should be respected, and the affairs of the various countries of the region should be left to the respective peoples themselves.

61. We give our support to the Contadora Group in its continued effort to achieve a peaceful and reasonable solution to the Central American question.

62. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Guyana. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

63. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): It gives me special pleasure to see you, Sir, presiding over the Security Council in this month of April. You bring to your high office, in addition to your well known brilliance, your methodical, efficient manner and your mastery of the art of diplomacy, which together give an assurance that under your stewardship the Council will effectively and successfully discharge its responsibilities this month. I must also take this opportunity to express to your immediate predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella of Peru, my delegation's appreciation for the very capable and effective manner in which he conducted the Council's business in the month of March.

64. This is the sixth occasion in the past two years that the Government of Nicaragua has had cause to complain to the Security Council about aggression against it. Each complaint since the first has provided the Council with an opportunity to assess the progressive deterioration of the situation in Central America, in particular in relation to Nicaragua. I do not need to repeat the elements of the situation described by Nicaragua before the Council; they are indeed well known to anyone who reads *The New York Times* or watches television in New York. But there is no doubt that the situation is one that must cause concern to all States truly interested in seeing peace and security return to Central America.

65. Mr. President, I wish to thank you and your colleagues on the Council for granting our request to participate in this debate. We have not sought this participation to enter into polemics or to engage in slander or recrimination. To do so would be to render a disservice to the cause of peace in the region and to the people of Nicaragua, whose fortitude and patience are being so severely tried from one day to the next. At any rate, do not we all know who is behind all this military activity directed against Nicaragua? Who among us is in any doubt as to where the millions come from to fuel counter-revolutionary activity against the Government

of Nicaragua, or from where come the arms that are turned against the people of Nicaragua? Rather, our request for participation is motivated by our concern at the dangerous course which events in Central America are taking, in particular in relation to Nicaragua.

66. As a State of the region, Guyana is grieved at the hostility and aggression that have been unleashed and are intensifying against the people and the territory of Nicaragua. We condemn the escalation of that aggression, most recently in the form of the mining of Nicaragua's major ports. Not only does this action constitute an attempt to blockade Nicaragua; it also constitutes a reckless endangerment of international navigation. We are also alarmed at the steadily increasing militarism in Central America. The people of that subregion, who have been seeking for so long to throw off the shackles of poverty, underdevelopment and ignorance, are undeserving of these excesses, which only place them on the brink of a full-fledged armed confrontation with implications not only for Central America but for the entire Latin American and Caribbean region.

67. My delegation would like to make a solemn appeal, once again, for a turning away from this frenzied course of arms and more arms towards peaceful, negotiated solutions to the problems facing Central America. The Contadora process is the expression of the wish of the peoples of Central America for just such solutions. In their Document of Objectives, adopted in September 1983, Central American foreign ministers rejected military solutions to the problems of the region. Outside Powers must respect that wish of the peoples of Central America.

68. The activities of the Contadora Group enjoy world-wide support. Guyana, for its part, would like to reiterate its support for that effort. We believe that the Contadora process offers a sound practical basis for negotiated solutions to the problems which Central American States have among themselves, solutions that would respect the independence of the States concerned and also take account of their own needs and interests. We call on all States to intensify their support for that effort, not merely in their rhetoric. Contadora already has more than enough verbal support. What is more important now is that States refrain from actions which go against the goals and purposes of the Contadora Group or frustrate their achievement.

69. The activities of the Contadora Group have their roots in the Charter of the United Nations and in the solemn instruments which the General Assembly has adopted over the years governing relations among States—instruments such as the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations,[1] the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States,[2] and the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes.[3] Those instruments solemnly proclaim the principles of respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-use of force in international relations and the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

70. The lesson of recent experience in Central America is that departure from these principles endangers peace and stability and leads to increased human suffering. My delegation finds puzzling the contradiction in the attitude of some States which piously call for respect for those principles in other areas while brazenly violating them in Central America.

71. My delegation sincerely hopes that the Council will make an effective response to the threat to peace and security which the Government of Nicaragua has brought to our attention. We call, in particular, on the permanent members of the Council, which have a special responsibility in respect of the maintenance of international peace and security, to exert their influence to achieve an immediate end to the hostilities being directed against Nicaragua and to promote negotiated settlements to whatever disputes may exist between Nicaragua and any of its neighbours. It is time that the people of Nicaragua were left alone and were allowed to enjoy their right to live in peace and security, and to work for the development of their country, free from outside intervention and interference.

72. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Mexico. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

73. Mr. MARÍN BOSCH (Mexico) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Please accept, Sir, the cordial congratulations of the Mexican delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are quite sure that you will prove able to lead to a successful conclusion the Council's work during the month which is now beginning. Allow me also to congratulate the representative of Peru on his wise conduct of the work of the Council, which last month had the benefit of his diplomatic tact and international experience.

74. I thank the members of the Council for granting me this opportunity to convey to the Council once again the Mexican Government's profound concern at the steadily worsening situation in Central America. It is with apprehension that we see the principles of the Charter and international law being violated with alarming frequency in that region and the persistent tendency to coerce the free exercise of peoples' right to self-determination.

75. The efforts of the Contadora Group to bring peace to Central America are based on compliance with the principles of international law which guide the conduct of States. The document containing 21 objectives, signed in September of 1983, emphasizes 12 of those principles. They include the self-determination of peo-

ples, non-intervention, refraining from the threat or use of force and the prohibition of terrorism and subversion.

76. A few days ago, on 28 March, Mr. Miguel de la Madrid, President of Mexico, said in Brasília that the experience of the Contadora Group shows that:

> "It is possible for countries bordering on the area of conflict and generally interested in the solution of problems that might eventually involve them to play an active and important role in restoring dialogue and negotiation, thus relieving tension and restoring peace. It is equally important that the countries involved, directly or indirectly, in a regional conflict should refrain from taking action that could exacerbate that conflict, should renounce hegemonistic aspirations and should not engage in interference or destabilization actions."

President de la Madrid also said:

> "Outsiders are attempting to solve conflicts in Central America. The various paths of development which its countries have chosen are being placed by those outsiders in the context of a global confrontation which distorts them. The exacerbation of tensions and confrontations could lead, if we do not studiously avoid it, to a generalized conflict that would endanger the security of Latin America and beyond. Latin America needs a stable and pluralistic Central America which can fit into the patterns of co-operation and enrich the joint endeavours of the region.
>
> "The path to achieving that is clearly one of dialogue and negotiation, based on respect for national identities and forms of expression, and it is certainly not the path of confrontation and conflict, of destabilizing actions or the imposition of models designed elsewhere by those who think that they know better than the Central Americans themselves what Central Americans want and should have."

77. The objectives agreed on by the Central American countries include the prohibition of the stationing on their territory of foreign military bases or any other forms of foreign military interference, as well as the prohibition of the use of their territory by persons, organizations or groups seeking to destabilize the Governments of Central American countries, and the refusal to provide them with or to permit them to receive military or logistical support.

78. In the joint statement signed in Bogota on 27 March, the Presidents of Colombia and Mexico stated that while the Contadora process "had definitely contributed to avoiding the outbreak of war in the isthmus and to generating the elements for honourable and equitable negotiations", they continue to be worried "at the increase in acts of destabilization, shows of force and the violation of human rights".

79. It is precisely that "increase in acts of destabilization" that has given rise to this meeting of the Council. The gravity of the list of facts read out by the representative of Nicaragua in his statement last Friday [*2525th meeting*] derives from the qualitative increase represented by the present level of military actions and acts of destabilization being carried out against his country. In accordance with what has been stated in the Security Council and with what has been extensively reported by the media, this is not merely a matter of facilitating the training of counter-revolutionaries by providing them with money and weapons, nor of encouraging mercenary pilots to commit acts of terrorism. What is now being attempted, apparently, is nothing less than the imposition of a naval blockade against Nicaragua with a view to eroding its economic infrastructure still further.

80. The Security Council has received reports on the laying of mines near Nicaragua's main ports. As a result, a number of merchant vessels have been damaged and fishing boats destroyed, and the navigation and shipping of a State Member of the United Nations have thus been disrupted.

81. In October last year, when considering the critical situation in another part of the world, the Council categorically opposed the disruption of international shipping and the blockading of ports. In resolution 540 (1983) it affirmed, in paragraph 3, "the right of free navigation and commerce in international waters" and called upon the belligerents "to cease immediately all hostilities in the region of the Gulf, including all sealanes, navigable waterways, harbour works, terminals, offshore installations and all ports with direct or indirect access to the sea".

82. What is happening in Central America clearly reflects the major choices facing the international community: on the one hand, the absurd attempt to achieve peace by waging war, and on the other, the negotiated and rational solution of existing conflicts; the arms race on one hand and the quest for just balances and lasting settlements of contemporary problems on the other.

83. The military actions of destabilization and economic blockade taking place in Central America are in flagrant opposition to the peace-making efforts that the countries of the Contadora Group have been making for more than a year. Therefore President de la Madrid, on his recent visit to Colombia, stated:

> "Contadora is a Latin American effort to resolve a Latin American conflict. The region can find its own answers to the problems affecting it. We reject the use of force: genuine peace and democracy in the area can be achieved only through abandonment of the temptation to resort to violence and through effective promotion of the full development of our nations. For Central America, Contadora is not just one choice among many; it is the only possible way lawfully to achieve harmonious co-existence among

the countries of the isthmus. Because we are right, we shall not flinch from achieving our aims."

84. Thus there are two opposing views of the real state of affairs in Central America and of its politics. While the Contadora countries propose disarmament in the area, respect for the self-determination of each people and measures to achieve the economic and social development of the region, there are those who continue to hold an outmoded view of international relations, according to which militarism, pressures and a war economy are the best guarantees of their own security and strategic designs.

85. History has frequently demonstrated the limitations and fallacies of such an approach. Rigid military thinking has often ended up affecting those who apply it and has turned against its authors. When the Contadora Group proposes the conclusion of agreements in accordance with the law, it is espousing, within the Central American sphere, the ideals and purposes of the international community on a universal level: dialogue and respect for norms, general and complete disarmament, economic and social development, the elimination of confrontation and a gradual relaxation of tension. The work of the Contadora Group has received the support of the international community precisely because of this complete identity between the universal principles of co-existence among States and its objectives of peace and stability.

86. A universal consensus has been confirmed here with respect to the fact that the conflicts in Central America originate in the economic and social conditions experienced by the peoples of the region. At this stage no one could venture to define this crisis in terms of a mechanical reflex of East-West confrontations.

87. That being the conviction of the Government of Mexico from the very start, and as it is firmly supported by the Contadora Group, let us act accordingly. Let us use all the political, diplomatic and material resources available to us to put an end to the hostilities, establish just and lasting agreements among the parties and engage in a great reconstruction effort for the countries of Central America with the determined assistance of the international community. The time has come for everyone to assume his responsibility.

88. A just and lasting solution of the Central American crisis will be achieved only through genuine commitment and participation by all States, in particular the permanent members of the Security Council, whose responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security must be exercised in accordance with the principles of the Charter and within the institutional framework laid down by it.

89. For all these reasons, the international community cannot remain passive in the face of the escalation of military actions, destabilization and economic blockading now going on against Nicaragua. Mexico reiterates its commitment to continue its effort, side by side with the Contadora countries, to prevent widespread violence from spreading in the area and to help build the bases for permanent and long-term stability. The success of Contadora, however, depends on the political will and the assistance of the other countries involved in the conflict. It is now up to them.

90. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

91. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are convinced that thanks to your experience, objectivity and wisdom the Council will succeed, despite all the obstacles we expect, in putting an end to the imperialist plot being directed against Nicaragua and other States in Central America and in other regions of the world. I also take this occasion to express to your predecessor, the representative of Peru, our admiration for the ideal way in which he conducted the work of the Security Council in a month that all agree was fraught with challenges to the preservation and enforcement of international relations as prescribed by the Charter.

92. The Security Council is meeting to consider the extremely dangerous situation facing Nicaragua and the people's Sandinist revolution. Nicaragua requested the convening of the Council in the wake of the startling escalation of acts of aggression against it. This escalation is designed to eliminate the Sandinist revolution by all means, and in the first place by overt and covert military force. It is of great concern to us that this escalation of aggression is taking place simultaneously with the attempts, which began more than a year ago, to solve the crisis in Central America by peaceful means, through the efforts and initiatives of the Contadora Group. These efforts and initiatives are based on understanding and on principles which, if they were allowed to be implemented, would restore to the region stability, peaceful coexistence and co-operation between the States thereof. Those principles would also recognize that the States of the region are entitled to self-determination and to pluralism based on the right of peoples to choose their social and economic systems in full freedom, without any external pressure or intervention.

93. Unfortunately, however, despite all the efforts exerted by the Contadora Group, despite all the agreements approved by all parties in Central America, we are firmly convinced from what is taking place on the scene that the United States is doing everything possible to place obstacles in the path of peaceful means. Indeed, it is striving to destroy them from their very inception; it is trying to concentrate on the use of military force in order to undermine the independence of the countries of Central America, with Nicaragua at

the forefront. Nicaragua has chosen a democratic political system, ensuring economic and social development in the interest of all the people of the country, without discrimination. It seems, however, that the policy of the revolutionary régime of Nicaragua conflicts with so-called American interests and that Nicaragua's non-alignment is contradictory with the aims of the expanding American hegemony and the imposition of this hegemony on all the countries of the region, without exception. It is as if the region, with all its States and peoples, its riches and expectations, were the property of the American Administration; as if fate had willed the countries of Central America to remain satellites in the orbit of imperialism; as if this subordination, rejected by Nicaragua, were an irreversible natural law or inescapable physical law. It is, also, as if the huge capacities of the United States could be harmed by a régime which has chosen for itself freedom, independence and non-alignment, a régime that refuses to take orders from abroad.

94. The fact is that the United States rejects the presence of progressive régimes, wherever they are, any progressive régimes that draw their legitimacy from the will of the peoples concerned. In Nicaragua, the United States is working for the return of Somozism. The United States may have condemned Somoza after his downfall, but it has not condemned Somozism and is working to restore it under another name.

95. We agree with an American author who has pointed out Washington's obsession about Nicaragua. Professor Richard H. Ullman, in an article published in *Foreign Affairs*, the fall 1983 issue, pointed out the psychological symptoms plaguing the American mentality. He wrote:

> "The Reagan Administration is at war with Nicaragua. Like other wars the United States has fought since 1945, it is an undeclared war. It is also a small war. No U.S. serviceman has yet fired a shot, but American-made bullets from American-made guns are killing Nicaraguans, and the President of the United States has made the demise of the present Nicaraguan Government an all-but-explicit aim of his foreign policy.
>
> "Indeed, the President and his closest advisers seem obsessed with Nicaragua, and their obsession has infected their Government at all levels."

96. We listened very carefully to the statement made on Friday last by the representative of Nicaragua. That statement clearly indicated Nicaragua's genuine fears concerning aggressive acts perpetrated against it, including the concentration of land, sea and air forces near the borders of Nicaragua and in its territorial waters, as well as acts of sabotage carried out inside Nicaragua by counter-revolutionaries, funded by the United States and with the participation of agents of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The aim of all these activities is the overthrow of the Nicaraguan régime by force and the negation of all the achievements of the masses. This is, moreover, accompanied by acts of provocation in the form of military manoeuvres which will continue until 1988.

97. In addition to all that, the newest form of escalation has been the blockade of Nicaraguan ports by the use of mines. There have also been acts of sabotage against the economic infrastructure that Nicaragua needs to feed its people and, by the efforts of its sons and daughters, to build in the country a society providing for every individual dignity and freedom and real political participation. It is these acts of aggression that prompted the representative of Nicaragua to put these questions to the international community:

> "May I ask the international community whether the Nicaraguan people are not justifiably alarmed at the large-scale military manoeuvres which have been going on uninterruptedly ... in the territories and waters of Central America and the waters of the Caribbean. May I ask the international community if the Nicaraguan people are not justifiably alarmed at the criminal mining of their ports, which endangers international navigation and makes explicit the economic blockade begun a number of years ago. May I also ask the international community if the Nicaraguan people are not justifiably alarmed at the constant efforts of the American Administration to obtain funds necessary to finance the mercenaries of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)." [*See 2525th meeting, para. 8.*]

98. On 30 March we listened also to the statement by the American delegation, which proved that the United States is intent upon committing acts of aggression under the banner of "achieving democracy in Nicaragua", as though American democracy—the bankruptcy of which is proven daily in every field, and which is indicted by widespread poverty, unemployment, drug use and control of United States foreign policy by the Zionist lobby—were a common product which could simply be manufactured and imitated by developing countries. I confess to the United States delegation that we are not such manufacturers of miracles; we cannot build a democracy similar to that of the United States, a democracy where the Government has been snatched by a band of Zionists who impose conditions on it for the destruction of our people.

99. We warn the Council that the Somozist "democracy"—which was condoned by the United States for approximately half a century, which was ultimately destroyed by the Sandinist revolution, and which the United States is now trying to re-impose—is nothing but a propaganda pretext on which to commit aggression against Nicaragua. The United States delegation has not said one word to address the fears of Nicaragua, which are the result of pressures and State terrorism practised by America, both directly and through agents. Our delegation is thus more convinced than ever that the United States does not stop at interven-

tion in the internal affairs of Nicaragua; it is trying to make the world believe that all acts of aggression against Nicaragua are acceptable and legitimate. When the Council was considering the American invasion of Grenada, the United States delegation attempted to legitimize the unacceptable by saying, "The prohibitions against the use of force in the Charter [of the United Nations] are contextual, not absolute." [*See 2491st meeting, para. 53.*] Whoever spoke those words ought without question to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, just as it was awarded to Begin. If that theory were correct, we do not see why there would be any need for a Charter of the United Nations, for the United Nations, for the Security Council, or for the meeting the Council is now holding to consider the complaint of Nicaragua.

100. If we compare the statement made by the Nicaraguan delegation with that made by the United States delegation, we can see that Nicaragua was appealing to the world, and to the Security Council in particular, to put a stop to the acts of aggression directed against it, while the United States merely insulted the intelligence of the world by slandering Nicaragua, as though Nicaragua were able to compete with the United States in imposing its hegemony on the countries of the region. But the international community knows the truth; it stands by those who speak the truth, those who are in the right; it defends the weak against the strong. I hope that my optimism is not excessive.

101. As a small, non-aligned State, the Syrian Arab Republic once again renews its full commitment to the resolutions adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries on the subject of Central America. Through its arrogance, Washington has constantly placed itself in confrontation with the non-aligned countries, which have publicly condemned more than once its actions against Nicaragua, the aim of which is to undermine the stability of that country, to destroy its Government, to attack it from all sides, and finally to launch a military invasion against it.

102. It has become clear that American intervention in Latin America is now the rule, not the exception. The record of the United States is replete with proof of this. The series of acts of terror and aggression against Nicaragua and other States began in 1948 and has continued to this day; there is no need to go into that record. I should like merely to mention that history has proved that one of the faces of American democracy is aggression; if not, it is a tendency, and if not a tendency then an instinct. That is extremely dangerous.

103. In declaring its total solidarity with the people and Government of Nicaragua, my delegation expresses its deep regret at the fact that the United States is carrying out, either directly or through other States, acts which are in violation of the principles of international law and of the Charter. The acts of aggression perpetrated daily against Nicaragua prove that there is a refusal to solve the Central American crisis by peaceful means, through the implementation of agreements achieved by the efforts of the Contadora Group. To say that there is no connection between United States military activities in the region on the one hand and United States pressure against Nicaragua on the other is to stray very far indeed from the principle of peaceful coexistence, peace and the peaceful settlement of disputes. It is nothing but an attempt to bring Nicaragua to its knees by force, to make the Nicaraguan revolution give up its principles. This is inexcusable hypocrisy and resembles the other hypocrisy of the American Administration, that the crimes committed by the CIA—which arrogates to itself and its helpers and its agents the role of a national liberation movement—are acts of national liberation which the international community should acquiesce with and accept. We in the Syrian Arab Republic know full well the methods used by imperialism to drain our region and to continue to make it the arena for American-Israeli wars waged against the Arabs, the Palestinian, Syrian or Lebanese people.

104. The crisis in Central America is an integral part of the United States plot to extend American hegemonism to all the strategic areas of the world. Therefore, the current events in Central America are of direct concern to us. We cannot consider those events to be geographically distant from us, for the planner and executant of the events is located geographically near to all non-aligned States. That planner makes no distinction among continents; its aims and its methods are everywhere the same.

105. We therefore call on all States to do all they can to frustrate the plots and acts of aggression against Nicaragua and other States. The United States must immediately stop using force, whether direct or indirect, against Nicaragua. The United States must shoulder its responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council; it must respect the independence of the States of Central America and not entangle them in local wars; it must not interfere in their internal affairs.

106. We also caution certain States participating in the conflict in Central America that their dependence on Israeli-made weapons and aircraft and Israeli expertise in frustrating the aspirations of the Arab people and consolidating the Zionist colonizing occupation in the Arab nation is but direct assistance to our enemies. We hope they will stop opening up their markets to Israeli weapons of destruction which provide economic and financial assistance to our enemies.

107. In conclusion, we must support Nicaragua's appeal to the Governments of the world to give the people of Nicaragua the necessary technical and military means to defend itself against the State terrorism unleashed by the United States against the people and the Government of Nicaragua. We are

convinced that peace will not be restored to Central America until the United States takes its hands off that region and stops its intervention.

108. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: My Government decided to request the convening of this lofty body in the light of the grave escalation that has taken place in the past few weeks as a result of the acts of aggression waged against my country by a great Power—a permanent member of this Council—in a dirty undeclared but open war. We did so in order fundamentally to denounce the new aspects of this aggression, involving mainly the mining of our ports, in violation of the principles of the Charter, the norms of international law and free international trade and navigation.

109. That is why I wish to take this occasion to put clearly on record the gravity of this situation, which with each passing day is being aggravated as this great Power, the United States of America, seeks to press on recklessly towards its ultimate objective, which, by its own admission, is the overthrow of the people's Sandinist revolution. I wish also to take this occasion also to refer to certain comments made by some prominent politicians, not just in the United States but also in other countries.

110. With regard to the various acts of aggression, on 28 March the Panamanian ship *Homin No. 7* was attacked by Piraña speed-boats from Honduras, using 50-mm machine guns, while it was loading sugar in the port of Corinto. Three helicopters also took part, directing rocket fire at the target. On 30 March a group of former Somozist guards attacked the indigenous Miskito community of Nimayen, near Sandy Bay, 60 kilometres south of the Honduran border on Nicaragua's Atlantic coast, kidnapping some members of its population.

111. In this particular case, I believe that members of the Council will be interested to note that in her statement on Friday [*2525th meeting*] the representative of the United States referred to internal matters of my Government. She spoke specifically of the case of the Miskitos, declaring that on that very day she had received information that a large number of Miskitos had been seen fleeing the Sandy Bay sector towards Honduran territory. That we did not have that information at the moment—information that she had received so expeditiously—indicates to my delegation that communications between the United States Government, the United States Mission to the United Nations and the CIA are co-ordinated and immediate.

112. To refresh the memories of Council members and to inform those who were not present at that meeting of the Council or who have not had an opportunity to read the verbatim record that has already been distributed, I shall quote three lines from Mrs. Kirkpatrick's statement:

> "I would, however, bring to the attention of the Council and others who are interested the fact that at this time, as we meet here, several thousand Miskito Indians are fleeing from the Sandy Bay Norte area of Nicaragua. This is north of Puerto Cabezas, about which we have heard a good deal." [*Ibid., para. 82.*]

113. On that same day, 30 March, Piraña gun-boats armed with mortars and high-calibre machine guns attacked the port of Corinto, resulting in an intense exchange of fire, which became a virtual naval battle, with forces of the Sandinist Navy. On 31 March, the explosion of another mine seriously damaged the engine room and electrical system of a Japanese ship, the *Taushiro Maru*, which had been loading bananas at the wharf of the port of Corinto.

114. This morning we read a cable containing a *communiqué* issued to the press at San José, Costa Rica, to the effect that a mercenary organization sponsored by the CIA for its covert operations—and it bears clarification that often mercenaries do not necessarily have to be of nationalities different from that of the country against which they are operating; indeed, many Nicaraguans have been recruited and paid by the CIA—had mined a 50-kilometre length of Lake Nicaragua, from the Sapoa River to the town of Colón. Lake Nicaragua is where the United States had always intended to build an inter-oceanic canal through Nicaragua to enable communication between the Atlantic and Pacific. That indeed was the occasion for the first United States intervention, in 1854, which I mentioned previously.

115. In the north-east of Nicaragua, in the department of Zelaya, heavy fighting is now taking place between CIA mercenary forces and Sandinist forces. Those mercenaries, after their forays, withdraw to Honduran territory and, re-equipped, return for action.

116. In the next few days we expect another invasion from Honduran territory of the north-central sector of Nicaragua, which is the strategic sector over which they have been trying to gain control through the various invasions they have launched.

117. In connection with the acts of aggression committed, the dangers of those actions, the mining of the ports and the sophisticated hardware used, I wish to read from the press conference held by the Nicaraguan Chief of Staff, Commander Joaquín Cuadra, who stated that:

> "In the past 10 days Nicaraguan frogmen have managed to blow up more than 27 mines in the course of difficult missions off the coast of Corinto, on the Pacific.
>
> "Those mines had been laid on a large scale with sophisticated technical apparatus by the United

> States Government, using commando units in the service of the American CIA.
>
> "Three kinds of mines have been detected in Nicaraguan waters, namely those which explode on direct contact with a ship; those which are detonated by the sound of motors; and those which are activated by the pressure waves of a vessel passing near by."

The Chief of Staff of the Sandinist People's Army goes on to say that, in laying mines in our ports, especially in the port of Corinto, Washington could even be using submarines and small submersibles, which amounts to naval terrorism by the CIA, using Piraña speedboats against Nicaraguan and foreign shipping.

118. The use of such speedboats—which has become a frequent phenomenon—armed with heavy machine guns, 20-mm guns and grenade launchers, could be in keeping with the classic American tactic of a mother ship, because it cannot be ruled out that those boats may have come from an American frigate stationed 40 miles off the coast of Sandino and Corinto.

119. Commander Joaquín Cuadra went on to say:

> "Those speedboats have motors of more than 200 horsepower and can travel at speeds of over 120 kilometres per hour; their use is intended to distract Nicaraguan defences in order to facilitate the laying of mines through the use of equipment provided by the United States Government."

120. These activities, which in both the planning and the operational phases are carried out under the auspices of a great Power, the United States, are of concern not only to my Government but also to serious people and responsible Governments as well as to those who realize the danger posed by those reckless actions in which the United States Government continues to engage against my Government.

121. In this regard I wish to refer to some statements made by the Secretary-General on 21 March, during his visit to Mexico, and by President de la Madrid and reported on in the international press. When asked about the presence of United States warships off Nicaragua, the Secretary-General condemned any action that might result in aggravating the Central American crisis. Later he stated at a press conference at the airport that the Contadora Group deserved support not only in words but in deeds. For his part, President de la Madrid on the same occasion declared his opposition to the escalation of violence, which was not at all conducive to peace negotiations, pointing out that the members of the Contadora Group and the peoples of Latin America also shared this sentiment.

122. Yesterday I pointed out that Reagan's new Special Envoy to Central America had publicly stated that the activities of the Contadora Group were one thing but the security measures that the United States might be obliged to take were quite another and in his opinion did not impede the Contadora process.

123. I had intended to read out verbatim the relevant part of the statements made by the Presidents of Mexico and Colombia during President de la Madrid's visit to Colombia, but since the representative of Mexico has already read extensively from the text, there is no need for me to do so too.

124. On the other hand, *The New York Times* of 31 March reported a statement made by Senator Edward Kennedy which I feel is interesting in the light of Nicaragua's complaint about United States aggression. He said:

> "The Administration is slowly but surely putting our combat troops into harm's way, into a war in El Salvador. What next? Some guerrilla is going to shoot down one of those U.S. helicopters, the pilot will be killed or taken hostage, and President Reagan will go on the stump declaring that it is an act of war. One secret war in Nicaragua is not enough. One secret war is not too much for us."

125. I am sure that Council members and delegates will have had an opportunity to read this morning the positions on various matters, including foreign and domestic policy, set out in *The New York Times* by the Democratic candidates. I wish simply to sum up the points made by the three candidates about Central America. All three, without exception, advocate putting an end to support for covert operations against Nicaragua. All three, without exception, agree that military manoeuvres in Honduras should be halted. All three, without exception, agree that military aid to El Salvador should be tied to improvements in human rights and an end to the activities of the death squads.

126. We would like to know what we can understand from all this. Why is President Reagan the only person who disagrees with those positions? He is pressing ahead with sowing death and destruction in Central America and escalating military activities there.

127. I shall end by reading extracts from two advertisements, published on 25 March and 1 April, by one of the Democratic candidates, Senator Gary Hart, concerning President Reagan's policies in Central America. The first, published in *The New York Times* on 25 March, said:

> "The policies of the Reagan Administration in Central America have set the stage for another Viet Nam. This Administration is fueling an ever-widening conflict ... a conflict that is taking a tremendous toll in the lives of innocent civilians ... a conflict that is destroying the economies of all the countries in the region ... a conflict that could lead to direct U.S. involvement.

"These are reckless and inhumane policies and they are not worthy of support. They must be reversed ... before it is too late.

"The commitment of U.S. military force to Central America cannot be the answer to the problems in Central America, as it was not the answer in Viet Nam.

"Since last year, the Reagan Administration, under the guise of manoeuvres, has maintained a regular military presence in Honduras which has already resulted in the loss of an American life.

"As a first step on the path to peace, I have called for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. combat troops from Central America".

Next I shall quote from the advertisement of 1 April, as follows:

"I have travelled throughout Central America and Southeast Asia ... I have seen the pain, the starvation, the dying ... I have seen people in a life-and-death struggle simply to survive from day to day.

"Poverty ... hunger ... disease ... these are the root causes of political and social unrest in the developing world. Suffering people will fight to end their suffering. ... If they have no other alternative, they will turn to violence.

"All too frequently in the past America's leaders have failed to respond to the human crisis in these countries. Rather than working for fundamental change to improve the lives of the vast majority, they have sided with the privileged few in defense of the *status quo*. ... How often have we seen our country support régimes that maintained their power by force and repression?

"Too often America has been required to use its military power to bolster these régimes. Too often American lives have been lost in the process.

"Right now such short-sighted and reckless policies have put us on the edge of disaster in Central America. Ronald Reagan has been using military force to deal with problems that are essentially social, political and economic.

"Concentrating large numbers of U.S. combat troops in Honduras ... funding guerrilla operations against Nicaragua ... pouring arms and military equipment directly into El Salvador and indirectly into Guatemala, the Reagan Administration is setting the stage for direct U.S. involvement. If it continues unchecked, Ronald Reagan will lead us into another unwinnable war.

"That is why I have called for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. combat troops from Central America."

128. I should like to ask the United States delegation yet again whether Mr. Hart, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Mondale and Mr. Jackson are the Communists that it is afraid of and whom it does not believe. If they are not, what is its explanation for the fact that they have a clear, well-defined position on the grave consequences of warmongering by the present American Administration in Central America, and in particular against my country?

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.

NOTES

[1] General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.

[2] General Assembly resolution 36/103, annex.

[3] General Assembly resolution 37/10, annex.

UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2528th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 3 April 1984, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Vladimir Alekseyevich KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2528)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 29 March 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16449)

The meeting was called to order at 4.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 29 March 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Nicaragua to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16449)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [*2525th and 2527th meetings*], I invite the representatives of Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guyana, Honduras, Mexico and Syrian Arab Republic to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Kovačič (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Sinclair (Guyana), Mr. Flores Bermúdez (Honduras), Mr. Marín Bosch (Mexico) and Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Democratic Yemen, El Salvador, Ethiopia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Seychelles and Viet Nam in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Martínez (El Salvador), Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Rácz (Hungary), Mr. Kittikhoun (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Burwin (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. The first speaker is the representative of Pakistan.

4. Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): Allow me to begin by extending to you, Sir, our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of April. We are confident that your personal qualities and rich diplomatic experience and skills will be great assets in enabling the Council to deal effectively with the issues that may come before it during this month. I also wish to express our profound appreciation and admiration for the outstanding manner in which your predecessor, Mr. Javier Arias Stella of Peru, guided the work of the Council.

5. Since this is the first time I am speaking in the Council following the untimely death of Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré, President of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, I wish to express our profound anguish at his passing away and to convey to the delegation of Guinea our deep sympathies and heartfelt condolences. President Ahmed Sékou Touré was a pioneer in the struggle against colonialism, which surged through the continent of Africa following the Second World War. He was an indefatigable freedom-fighter, an outstanding statesman of Africa and an inspiring symbol of our time as a valiant leader dedicated to the cause of freedom, peace and progress. He was among the founding fathers of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. As Chairman of the Islamic Peace Committee, he devoted himself unsparingly to bringing to an end the tragic Iran-Iraq

conflict. During his many memorable visits to our region in pursuit of his peace initiatives he visited Pakistan, where he endeared himself to our leaders and people, who will always cherish his memory as a true friend and share with their brothers in Guinea their deep sense of grief and sorrow.

6. The troubled region of Central America is once again the subject of the Security Council's consideration in response to the complaint brought to it by Nicaragua. When a similar complaint from Nicaragua was considered by the Council in March of last year we voiced our feelings of profound concern [*2423rd meeting*] at the distortion of the issues within the region under the impact of interference and involvement from outside. While remaining sensitive to the tense situation on Nicaragua's borders with Honduras at that time and to the risk of armed conflicts among the States of the region, we were fully conscious of the imperative need to prevent alien hands from manipulating the process of change in the region and to ensure that the peace initiative by the Contadora Group of countries was provided with unhindered opportunity to resolve the regional contradictions.

7. Recently the Central American region has been the scene of extraordinary diplomatic, political and military activity, and the situation there continues to be highly combustible. Nevertheless we remain convinced that the endeavours of the Contadora Group hold out the best hope of resolving the tragic conflict that afflicts the region. The Contadora decisions provide the most comprehensive and imaginative framework for an all-embracing solution of the entire range of complex issues in Central America. They include important agreements embodying political commitments designed to ensure peace in the region.

8. Military activities in the region have assumed grave proportions and could spark a wider conflagration with ramifications beyond the frontiers of Nicaragua and Honduras or those of the region. Nicaragua has expressed concern over military manoeuvres and exercises in the region, which it sees as a threat to its own security. It has complained against increased guerrilla and rebel activity on its territory, alleging that it is sustained from outside, and has reported the mining of its ports, which has caused damage to foreign shipping in its waters.

9. The mining of the Nicaraguan ports is a grave matter. It has already obstructed free navigation in Nicaraguan waters, and it amounts to a partial blockade of its ports. Pakistan unequivocally deplores this development, which is causing suffering to the Nicaraguan people, and upholds the fundamental right of every nation to develop its economy and socio-political system free from outside coercion.

10. As in the case of Nicaragua, every country in the region has the right to embark on development programmes of its own. At the same time these countries must learn to tolerate and respect socio-political differences in their neighbourhood and must learn to live in peace and harmony with one another. The political processes in Nicaragua and El Salvador, each in its own way, aim at strengthening the democratic institutions and sustain the validity of pluralistic systems for the region. The Contadora Group, as well as the communiqué adopted by the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on 15 March [*S/16422, annex*], have noted with interest the advances made with respect to elections in various countries of the region and have highlighted the importance of making use of democratic processes as a means of bringing about domestic reconciliation in the various countries and détente in the region.

11. Nicaragua has invoked its right under the Charter to bring its concerns to the Security Council, which has the clear responsibility of giving it full satisfaction in the overall regional context. Its decisions must help rather than hinder the momentum of the Contadora process. We clearly read this message in the important statement of the representative of Mexico, in the 2527th meeting, who has eloquently advocated that the countries of the region be left to themselves to find a regional solution of the complex Central American situation. Accordingly, as we engage in the process of formulating a Security Council response which satisfies the Nicaraguan concerns and at the same time does not prejudice the Contadora process, we look forward to the benefit of the views of the countries of the region, and especially of the members of the Group, whose co-operation is indispensable for peace in the region.

12. I wish to take this opportunity to declare our firm support for the Government and people of Nicaragua in their endeavours to overcome the serious problems with which they are beset at present. It is our hope that all the States of the Central American region will help the process of peace and coexistence, which would permit them to build their respective societies in accordance with their aspirations and free from intervention and interference from outside.

13. Mr. LUNA (Peru) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: First I should like to express to you, Sir, the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the direction of our work for this month. I am sure that under your skilful and intelligent leadership the Security Council will achieve fruitful results this month. On behalf of Mr. Javier Arias Stella, I should like also to express thanks for the very kind and thoughtful words with which representatives have referred to his work as President of the Council last month.

14. The Security Council has been convened once again to consider both new and already expressed complaints by the Government of Nicaragua regarding acts violating its sovereignty and territorial integrity, which regrettably have resulted in the loss of life and damage and, owing to their nature, have seriously harmed the economic infrastructure of that fraternal Latin American nation.

15. The detailed presentation of the facts that the representative of Nicaragua has given us on two occasions [*2525th and 2527th meetings*] showed that the situation confronted by his country not only still exists but is worsening at an alarming rate. The mining of Nicaraguan ports that has taken place during the past few months has damaged ships and inflicted injuries on crews of various nationalities, thus causing concern and disrupting normal traffic off the Nicaraguan coast.

16. My delegation has listened with attention to the statements about the facts as they have occurred. There has been no denial of the allegations, and we may deduce that their veracity is not being debated. Consequently, the delegation of Peru wishes to make the following points.

17. First, we reject the intensification of hostile acts against Nicaragua and this new phase of operations against its port installations, the victim of which is always its own people.

18. Secondly, we are profoundly concerned at the serious accusations made in this debate regarding actions aimed at obstructing Nicaraguan shipping trade, which amounts to a *de facto* blockade and *de jure* violation of free international navigation.

19. Thirdly, we are convinced that the increase in the foreign military presence and the irrational arms race taking place in Central America will have the effect only of encouraging distrust and tension and give substance to the mutual charges by the nations of the isthmus being levelled at one another about destabilization, traffic in arms, terrorism of all kinds and support of insurgents, among other things.

20. Fourthly, we reaffirm our determined support for Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and General Assembly resolution 38/10. Both documents were adopted by consensus and accurately reflect the principles and commitments that the international community hopes will be honoured by the parties and factions involved in this regrettable crisis.

21. Fifthly, we believe there is an urgent need for us to express emphatically our support for the efforts of the Contadora Group, which is endeavouring to reach a negotiated comprehensive settlement that will provide the guidelines for a consolidation of peace in the area. If the Contadora Group is to reach tangible results, obviously there must first be an immediate cessation of all acts of hostility among and towards Central American countries—and that applies to conduct both within and outside the negotiations framework.

22. Sixthly, it is extremely important that we all renew our support for the vigorous appeal for the strictest respect for the principles and norms of international law enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and other international instruments. With regard to the complaints presented by Nicaragua, which bear upon all the Central American republics, there must be strict observance of the principles of non-intervention in internal and external affairs of States, the right to self-determination, respect for international obligations, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, independence or territorial integrity of any State.

23. Furthermore, it is obvious that the deplorable violations of Nicaragua's security and stability are a crucial link in the broader political, economic and social problems confronting Central America. The peoples of that subregion are passing through a particularly critical period. They are making choices regarding the future of their nations and universal values, such as freedom, democracy, well-being and justice, are all at stake. The process requires not only the mature, devoted efforts of the protagonists but also the international community's responsible and careful understanding, especially by those who for reasons of geography or history are called to play more constructive roles.

24. In the special case of Central America, the Contadora Group is the legitimate depositary of the confidence and ideals for the peace of Latin America, of the non-aligned countries and of practically the entire international community. Unanimous support at all levels has been given to the efforts of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela. Within the inter-American system and in the United Nations, as we have said, documents have been adopted praising the efforts of those countries and exhorting them to persevere. However, as a number of representatives have wisely pointed out, realities in the area—characterized, *inter alia*, by the circumstances that have brought us together today and by a mistaken, dangerous and simplistic view of the Central American crisis—have obstructed the dialogue and negotiations that the Contadora Group has so conscientiously sought to achieve among the Governments directly concerned.

25. Hence Contadora still has a long row to hoe, and its peace efforts continue to require our firm and constant support. It is noteworthy that that group of countries is striving not only to bring about harmonious coexistence among the Central American nations, in keeping with the principles of international law and in a climate of security and stability, but also to help the parties establish a legal and institutional framework for economic and social co-operation which will allow the subregion to move again in the direction of integration and complementarity.

26. The Government of Peru hopes that this vision of a final, comprehensive, peaceful settlement that takes into account the legitimate interests of all Central American peoples—a settlement under the auspices of the Contadora Group within an exclusively regional context—will come true.

27. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): Sir, you have assumed your high office in the beautiful month of April, which nor-

mally brings in a welcome thaw from the cold winter months. Today's sunshine is a practical manifestation of this climatic change. As I compliment you, therefore, I venture to hope that, despite the formidable obstacles that stand in the way, our debate on this item under your presidency will also herald an overdue thaw in the international climate. Your predecessor has already made a valuable contribution in this regard by the way in which, as befits his name, like a star in the firmament, he conducted the Council's work in the tempestuous month of March.

28. Almost everything that needs to be said on the item before us has already been very aptly expressed in the statements made before the Council, particularly at yesterday's and today's meetings when, after having heard the opening statements of the protagonists, we benefited from the important views and preoccupations of the countries in the region and of objective observers who are really trying to encourage the Contadora Group's peaceful approach.

29. My own delegation has already intervened twice in the Council on this subject; we find that the observations we made on those previous occasions remain valid today and we therefore see no point in repeating them. But there remains, in our opinion, one additional consideration which we wish to emphasize.

30. When speaking before this Council on 28 March [*2522nd meeting*], I stressed that "internationally recognized principles have specific content and lay down binding norms of inter-State behaviour". I added, "the carefully defined words of each relevant principle constitute accurate descriptions of actual international behaviour expected from and incumbent upon each one of us".

31. The two principles that mainly appear to be at the centre of our attention on this item are those which stipulate non-intervention in the internal affairs of States and refraining from the threat or use of force.

32. On 1 August 1975, in those distant days when the word détente—although perhaps at times abused—was still considered a decent word, worthy of being included in the political dictionary and in the discourse of international relations, the countries of Europe, together with Canada, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America signed the Helsinki Final Act. Among the decalogue of principles laboriously negotiated in a two-year marathon conference, the two principles I have already mentioned, which are mainly applicable to today's debate, were defined. The first—non-intervention in the internal affairs of States—was defined as follows:

> "The participating States will refrain from any intervention, direct or indirect, individual or collective, in the internal or external affairs falling within the domestic jurisdiction of another participating State, regardless of their mutual relations.
>
> "They will accordingly refrain from any form of armed intervention or threat of such intervention against another participating State.
>
> "They will likewise in all circumstances refrain from any other act of military, or of political, economic or other coercion designed to subordinate to their own interest the exercise by another participating State of the rights inherent in its sovereignty and thus to secure advantages of any kind.
>
> "Accordingly, they will, *inter alia*, refrain from direct or indirect assistance to terrorist activities, or to subversive or other activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the régime of another participating State."

33. The second—refraining from the threat or use of force—was defined as follows:

> "The participating States will refrain in their mutual relations, as well as in their international relations in general, from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations and with the present Declaration. No consideration may be invoked to serve to warrant resort to the threat or use of force in contravention of this principle.
>
> "Accordingly, the participating States will refrain from any acts constituting a threat of force or direct or indirect use of force against another participating State. Likewise they will refrain from any manifestation of force for the purpose of inducing another participating State to renounce the full exercise of its sovereign rights. Likewise they will also refrain in their mutual relations from any act of reprisal by force.
>
> "No such threat or use of force will be employed as a means of settling disputes, or questions likely to give rise to disputes, between them."

34. Those principles were so important that they bore repetition. They were brief and to the point. They were so firmly founded in international law that the participating States, after having stressed the primary significance and equal and unreserved applicability of all the ten principles, felt the need to add that they declared "their intention to conduct their relations with all other States in the spirit of the principles contained in the present Declaration".

35. Because of their universality, these principles bind all Members of the United Nations. The responsibility accruing therefrom weighs even more heavily, perhaps, on those who have subscribed to the Helsinki Final Act, and especially the permanent members of the Security Council.

36. That of course was almost 10 years ago. Many unfortunate events have occurred since then which

have troubled the international scene. But the words of the principles remain valid as standards which strictly govern international behaviour. We therefore ask that all concerned live up to those standards, not by the lip-service they pay them, but in their actual behaviour. The standards remain valid in all circumstances, even if other countries may have transgressed them in other areas in the recent past, and even though policy choices may admirably be subject to free and open scrutiny in national debate.

37. Once again, even in the midst of the disheartening news brought to our attention of events which have culminated in serving to impede humanitarian assistance to Nicaragua, there have, nevertheless, remained some positive elements. The Contadora Group forthrightly pursues its task, setting down the balanced guidelines necessary for regional progress. Peaceful overtures continue to be made by Nicaragua, even in the face of the enormous difficulties placed in its way. And there has also been a belated recognition by the United States of the crisis in Central America, of compassion for its people and of hope for its future, in a bipartisan approach. As long as these elements aid in practical terms the objectives set by the Contadora Group they should be encouraged, to the same extent that military adventurism should be condemned.

38. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) [*interpretation from Russian*]: Mr. President, first of all I should like to congratulate you and welcome you to this important post of President of the Security Council and express my conviction that your great diplomatic experience will help the Council in its work this month. I should also like to express appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Arias Stella, who so ably and tactfully discharged his functions as President of the Security Council in March. His diplomatic ability to a considerable and significant extent promoted the successful work of the Council.

39. The Soviet delegation responded with understanding to the urgent appeal from Nicaragua to the Security Council. Disturbing developments around that country justify its request and make it a correct one. Just a few months ago the Security Council was obliged to consider the question of aggressive actions against Nicaragua, and yet the danger threatening its people has not at all receded; on the contrary, that danger continues to grow.

40. In violation of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations, a policy is being railroaded through, expanding militaristic preparations around Nicaragua. Areas in Central America adjacent to that country have been turned into a staging ground for armed operations, where many bases have been set up and where Somozist terrorists have established their camps. These groups are carrying out attacks, killing civilians and trying to destabilize the economic life of the country. In the very able statements in the Security Council by the representative of Nicaragua, Mr. Chamorro Mora, a great deal of evidence was laid before us confirming these facts.

41. Everyone is fully aware of who is behind these terrorist activities and who is providing weapons, financing and guidance. Indeed, the leaders of the United States not only do not attempt to cover up their role in such gross violations of peace and international law, but in fact they boast about their role. There is no need to dispatch a commission of enquiry to establish the truth, for it is hard to think of any other instance in which any State has so openly acknowledged its participation in acts of aggression against another.

42. In the past few days there has been a particularly marked increase in Washington's military activities in the Central American region. On the pretext of regular training exercises Marine units have been concentrated along the borders of Nicaragua, a non-aligned State, and there has been an increase in air activity as well as a redeployment of Marines. Runways are hastily being constructed, as are ports and warehouse facilities for storing armaments.

43. On 1 April of this year manoeuvres unprecedented in Central America were begun. As stated by the Pentagon, these will include the examination of "all aspects of a scenario of contemporary warfare", including paratroop operations. Some particularly alarming aspects of such developments are to be found in United States press reports, according to which American troops will participate directly in these military operations.

44. And what is the reason for all these events around Nicaragua? The White House does not attempt to conceal the fact that the principal task is, as it has claimed in the past and continues to claim, to force the Nicaraguan people to turn away from their path of independent development and to restore in that country—and, indeed, throughout Central America—its own total control. In July of last year Washington quite openly stated that it did not believe in the possibility of a peaceful settlement in the region as long as the Sandinist leadership was in power there. Washington is quite simply demanding that a sovereign State alter its political and economic structure and change its foreign policy. It would not be incorrect to say that such an approach with regard to a sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations is, in the final analysis, a threat to every developing, non-aligned country.

45. Here in this chamber the delegation of the United States enjoys moralizing about "violence", "murder and terrorism" and attempts to "obliterate the line between peace and war, between civilian and military, between politics and crime". The people of Latin America, however, know better than anyone else the true nature of the actions of those moralizers who, for their own hegemonistic ends, do not hesitate to resort to terrorism and to overt violence. I shall not dwell upon the past. Suffice it to recall the aggression committed against Grenada only six months ago.

46. It is hard not to recall here the heroic people of Cuba. For 25 years they have withstood attempts to stifle them by means of a blockage, of economic sabotage, of armed aggression and through plots to assassinate their leaders. We can be quite sure that the American adventure against Nicaragua will also, in the last analysis, end as pathetically as did that of the Bay of Pigs.

47. It is perfectly clear to any unprejudiced observer that as far as the imperialists are concerned freedom, human rights and democracy stop at the point where the peoples throw off the yoke of economic exploitation and enter upon the path towards independent development, rejecting the policies of diktat and hegemonistic control.

48. On 29 March this year the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Chernenko, stated the following:

> "The value of all this talk about United States willingness to take action to ease international tension, to act in a spirit of restraint and not to use or threaten the use of force can be quite clearly seen in the case of Nicaragua, against which American special forces and their henchmen have been waging an undeclared war. They are sowing violence everywhere, killing peaceful civilians. Do they really think in Washington that their policy of State terrorism and intervention in the affairs of sovereign States will be regarded by the peoples as promotion of peace? Such a belief would be a grave error indeed."

49. The Security Council has recently been witnessing a new manifestation of this policy of State terrorism. Actions are aimed against foreign merchant ships en route to Nicaragua or sailing along its coastline. Mines have been laid in the waters adjacent to that country and in its territorial waters and ports, and several foreign ships have already been damaged by them, including the Soviet tanker *Lugansk*.

50. The Government of the Soviet Union delivered a firm protest to the Government of the United States and warned that the United States would bear full responsibility for any consequences that might result from the continuation of such actions. In the note by the Soviet Government, delivered to the United States Chargé d'Affaires by a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, First Deputy President of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Andrei Gromyko, on 21 March, stated, *inter alia*:

> "The nature and scope of such criminal operations leave no doubt that they are being carried out with the direct participation of departments and persons under the control of the United States Government, which is thereby guilty of violating one of the fundamental principles of international law, namely, the right to free navigation."

51. We should like to ask the United States delegation: does the present Administration realize that it is opening up a new and extremely dangerous chapter in the history of international terrorism, one with unforeseeable consequences for many countries of the world? Does it realize that it is playing with fire and that the mining of the ports of other countries in peacetime is not only a clear and flagrant violation of international law but also a serious step towards creating a situation of international anarchy, something against which the Secretary-General warned us in his 1982 annual report?[1] We would also point out the fact that the State indulging in this terrorism is one that is highly vocal in its support of free navigation. Moreover, the President of that State openly voiced the need "to avert conflicts which might threaten shipping lanes". It is not surprising that the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Shultz, speaking on television on 1 April, was unable to answer the question as to how mining the waters off the shores of Nicaragua was different from other acts of international terrorism.

52. In such a situation we can only express surprise that some sea Powers allies of the United States prefer to remain silent on this question in spite of the fact that this new stage in the development of international terrorism creates considerable dangers for them as well.

53. The Soviet delegation considers that the Security Council would be acting correctly and in fulfilment of its obligations by condemning the mining of the ports and territorial waters as an act of State terrorism.

54. The actions of the United States show that it is not interested in a political settlement in Central America and that it is deliberately pursuing a policy intended to widen the conflict. Those actions constitute a gross violation of the fundamental principles of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations.

55. For its part, the Soviet Union declares its support for the just cause of the people of Nicaragua, who are defending their freedom and the independence of their homeland.

56. The Soviet Union is in favour of a peaceful settlement of the alarming situation in Central America. The Soviet Union believes that the States of the Contadora Group should work actively—indeed, more actively—in that direction. It goes without saying that the trend of future developments in the region—and whether towards stabilization or, as is happening at present, towards a widening of the conflict—will depend largely on the Security Council, on its members, and on us, their representatives.

57. Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: It gives me pleasure, Sir, to extend to you our heartfelt congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are certain that your rich diplomatic experience and the serious-mindedness with which you approach problems will

guarantee the smooth functioning of the Council. I should like also to reiterate our satisfaction with and admiration for the exemplary manner in which Mr. Javier Arias Stella discharged his responsibilities as President of the Council last month.

58. The nature of the crises besetting the peoples of Central America is but one more facet of human suffering in the third world, where people aspire to freedom, rights, their due share of prosperity and development and to the exercise of their political rights, free from foreign intervention and internal oppression.

59. As a country of the third world, Egypt is well aware of the problems of the third world, with its heavy legacy of economic and social underdevelopment and of the burdens and responsibilities imposed on legitimate Governments and leaders by the legitimate aspirations of their peoples. Therefore, and owing to its membership in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Egypt appreciates the nature of the problems besetting the Government and people of Nicaragua and the challenges faced by that country.

60. Having had the same historical experience, Egypt can say that Central American States facing similar challenges will not meet those challenges unless a regional climate is created throughout the area based on renunciation of the threat or use of force and on abandonment of confrontation and intervention in the internal affairs of States, as well as on application of the principles of good-neighbourliness and respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States of the area and for the right of their peoples freely to choose their own political and economic systems.

61. Egypt joins other delegations in expressing grave concern about the recent escalation and spread of violence and counter-violence in Central America. Besides its tragic and destructive effects on individuals and whole peoples in the region, it increasingly threatens peace and security on a wider scale.

62. We have therefore followed with great attention and concern the news of damage to a number of ships caused by the mining of Nicaraguan ports, which can only impede access to those ports, bring about new tragedies, and deprive the people of Nicaragua of the foreign assistance it deserves.

63. Along with the efforts and well-known positions of the non-aligned countries, which are based on unchanging principles, and with United Nations resolutions—including Security Council resolution 530 (1983) and the General Assembly's consensus resolution 38/10 —a pioneering constructive undertaking has been begun by the States of the Contadora Group. We endorse that undertaking, which deserves our encouragement. We should urge the Group to follow the long constructive road ahead of it. Already, important landmarks have been erected on that road: the Cancún Declaration on Peace in Central America [*S/15877, annex*], of 17 July 1983 and the Document of Objectives contained in the annex to document S/16041. These are sincere, creative initiatives springing from within the region. My delegation considers that we are all duty-bound to lend our positive support to the endeavours of the Contadora Group and to give the Group every opportunity to continue its work and fulfil its mission.

64. Egypt believes in and calls for the right of peoples to choose their economic and political systems without foreign intervention, and we believe in the inviolability of borders between States. We call for renunciation of the use of violence and threats and for efforts to be made to establish a dialogue in order to provide all peoples and legitimate Governments of Central America with the atmosphere that will enable them to face their basic problems: the problems of development, of overcoming the legacy of colonialism and exploitation, and of achieving the legitimate hopes and aspirations of the people of that region.

65. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

66. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: The delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has already had occasion to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council and to extend its gratitude to the representative of Peru for his conduct of the Council's business last month.

67. The Security Council is meeting once again today to discuss another chapter in the provocations and acts of intervention and aggression undertaken by the American Administration against peoples that refuse to submit to its hegemonic colonialist designs.

68. The Council recently began discussion of the acts of aggression undertaken by the United States against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the flagrant intervention in our affairs, and that consideration resumed yesterday [*2526th meeting*]. I wish to affirm that those acts are a manifestation of the premeditated and ever-aggressive United States policy towards Libya. That policy, which persists to this very day, dates back to the emergence of our revolution in 1969, a year which marked a new phase in the history of the Libyan people, one in which that small people has been able, thanks to its struggle and its faith, to effect the removal of American bases of aggression, to put an end to oil monopolies in the area, to adopt the slogan of economic liberation and nationalize its oil industry, to support the forces of liberation in southern Africa and the struggle of the people of Palestine and pursue a non-aligned policy against colonialism, racism and zionism.

69. Ever since that day, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has been the victim of repeated provocations, threats

and acts of direct and indirect aggression by the American Administration. These acts of terrorism have assumed several forms, as reflected in economic pressures, the deployment of air and naval forces off the Libyan coast, the dispatch of AWACS aircraft to neighbouring States to undertake spying missions against Libya, and the conduct of military manoeuvres near its borders. From time to time the American Administration, in co-ordination with its puppets in the area, has fabricated certain incidents to expand its acts of aggression and provocation against free, independent peoples.

70. Those acts of aggression have not been confined to military provocations but have included biased media campaigns deliberately fuelled by the American Administration with misinformation designed to distort the honourable and principled positions of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on the issue of freedom in the world.

71. As we have already declared in this Council, the Jamahiriya will be neither the first nor the last victim in the series of American acts of aggression. This view has been supported by the majority of speakers on the subject, and today's meeting affirms the validity of that warning. The Council is meeting again to discuss the escalation of provocations and acts of aggression unleashed against another non-aligned State—Nicaragua. In its turn, that country will not be the last victim of such acts; indeed, other States will fall victim to American aggression.

72. The current American Administration has done everything to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Central America and destabilize the region in order to overthrow so-called unfriendly régimes, including the progressive régime in Nicaragua.

73. The new phase of aggression against Nicaragua, aggression which has continued uninterrupted since the emergence of the revolutionary progressive régime, is no mere coincidence but has been planned by the United States Administration on all levels. In order to implement its schemes, that Administration has mobilized lackey Governments of the region and has been financing and organizing campaigns of terror against the people of Nicaragua and supporting all military operations waged against that people. To implement these schemes it has used certain States as bridgeheads and has supported armed elements of the remnants of the Somozist Guard stationed on Nicaragua's borders. Tremendous financial resources have been earmarked for plans to organize opposition inside and outside Nicaragua and to dispatch spy planes for the purpose of relaying information to anti-revolution forces. The violation of that country's territorial waters, including the mining of its ports, has resulted in many incidents. One was the explosion on 20 March 1983, which damaged a Soviet vessel bringing oil to Nicaragua; another was the sinking of the *Pescasa* when it hit a mine upon docking; yet another was the damage caused to the ship *Inderchaser*, flying a Liberian flag, as it was leaving the port of Corinto on 28 March.

74. The responsibility for the human and material losses resulting from those and previous incidents—which are nothing less than acts of terrorism directed against the security of international navigation—must be borne by the United States Administration, which, through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), planned and executed these incidents.

75. The aggression being committed against Nicaragua today falls in the context of a vicious imperialist policy of hegemony pursued by the American Administration with a view to extending and consolidating its influence over various parts of the world on the pretext of protecting its strategic and economic interests. This is demonstrated in the aggressive policy that Administration is pursuing, its military buildup and the establishment of the rapid deployment force, its provocations against those States, that do not follow its lead, its opposition to national liberation movements, its creation of hotbeds of tension, its sowing of the seeds of discord and dissension and its conduct of provocative military manoeuvres.

76. Our Arab region has been the victim of a Zionist-American conspiracy against it and of the limitless support provided to zionism by the American Administration to pursue aggression and expansion. This conspiracy has culminated in Israel's invasion of Lebanon and in the continued acts of aggression against the fraternal Syrian people. The aid given to the aggressive South African régime is another case in point.

77. The threat or use of force in international relations undermines the confidence of the international community in the principle of collective security. The United States Administration has trampled international instruments and conventions underfoot. It has dome so, not to defend the rights of peoples struggling for freedom, but to suppress freedom and kill people in Namibia, Palestine, Lebanon, Grenada, Nicaragua and in many other parts of the world.

78. Nicaragua today is a victim of terrorist acts of aggression committed by the United States. We must stand by Nicaragua and support it, because our support for that country signifies that we stand on the side of right and justice. The position of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in this regard is in keeping with the relevant General Assembly resolutions, the declarations of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the efforts of the Contadora Group—all of which call for respect for the territorial integrity of Nicaragua and for seeking solutions to the problems of Central America by peaceful means, such as dialogue and co-operation among the States of the region free from foreign intervention.

79. Finally, we reaffirm the solidarity of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya with the struggle of the Nicaraguan people in defending its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

80. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

81. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Mr. President, I should like to thank you and the other members of the Security Council for allowing me to take part in the present debate.

82. Once again the Security Council is meeting to hear a complaint by the Government of Nicaragua. This is exactly the sixth time the Sandinist revolution has had to resort to the Council, whose primary responsibility is the maintenance of international peace and security. Obviously, it does not come here just to engage in rhetoric, or to tax the patience of the members, or to stand in the way of its neighbours' defending themselves from some imagined threat—as some would mischievously have us believe. It comes here because the danger of aggression—or, to be more accurate, the relentless upsurge in aggressive actions on the part of the Government of the United States of America against that Central American country over the past two years—makes it abundantly clear that the United States has neither relinquished its interventionist policies nor given up its illusory aim of overthrowing Nicaragua's Governing Junta of National Reconstruction.

83. As if butter would not melt in her mouth, the representative of the United States laments that Nicaragua should once again have complained about the daily abominations being perpetrated against its sons, ports, factories, ships and villages from the occupied territory of Honduras and, although against the will of its Government, from Costa Rica by mercenaries armed, trained and directed by the CIA, the Pentagon and the United States Government. She pathetically alleges that Nicaragua has presented itself as "the peaceable, innocent victim of an aggression that is orchestrated by ... the United States" [*see 2525th meeting, para. 73*]. We are almost moved to tears by this slander. Imagine: such evil words being used against the blameless benefactors of mankind!

84. How, indeed, could the mere fact of a request for $21 million from the American Congress to finance the operations of the ex-Somozist Guards possibly be construed as "orchestrated aggression" against Nicaragua? Who could allege that the $60 million allocated over the past two years, according to the American press, to the financing of the covert operations against Nicaragua are anything but a legitimate reduction in the funds devoted to social welfare or in the personal financial operations of the high-level collaborators of President Reagan which are reported from time to time in the press?

85. Could the fact that the actions against Nicaragua are clear violations of the Charter of the United Nations and international law be reason enough to spoil the breakfast of the person in charge?

86. How, when nothing less than the sacrosanct vital interests of the United States are at stake, could we expect the leader of the United States to fail to mount his favourite battle horse, joke about his age, castigate communism—which is responsible for all the Earth's evils—and extol both the democratic exterminators of the Salvadorian people and the charming, mild-mannered military men in Honduras, who will obligingly simulate coups and substitute one puppet for another when needed?

87. I am sure the members of the Council appreciate the grave danger hovering over this poor, defenceless and peace-loving giant to the north. The threat of the fighting cock bedecked with corn tortillas, the awesome rumbling of volanoes, the uncontainable attack of the rhythmic May pole all foretell the collapse of the dominoes; the bankruptcy of the American way and the end of Billy the Kid, Madison Avenue and the legend of the Alamo.

88. Surely it is not asking too much for Congress to allocate $21 million for 1984 to mine a few more Nicaraguan ports or have another go at Corinto and El Bluff; to destroy new oil tanks, settlements and schools; to kill a few more children, like Etelvina Cárdenas, or innocent fishermen in the Atlantic or Pacific; or to damage ships flying Japanese, Panamanian, Liberian or Soviet flags.

89. Who cares, after all, about freedom of navigation when you come right down to it? Who gives a hoot about free navigation or uninterrupted development of international trade? What do these things matter in the face of the terrible, awesome dangers detected by the Kissinger Commission, Ambassador Stone, the head of the CIA and even Dick Tracy?

90. Surely no one will believe that the warmongering clamour, the sending of fleets to the Gulf, the beginning of the Ocean Venture 84 manoeuvres and the declarations of the Southern Command in the so-called Panama Canal Zone in the face of the hypothetical "closing" of the Strait of Hormuz, the navigation channels of the Caribbean or the Panama Canal, so justified and in keeping with the principles of law, could possibly be compared to the unjustified and baseless protest over the mining of Nicaraguan ports, no matter how friendly may be the companies of Panama, Liberia and Japan, whose ships were damaged and whose nationals were wounded in the explosions. They do not care about the Soviet ship because it belongs to the "evil empire" and, as they say, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had the gall to supply weapons to the Nicaraguan people so that it might repel aggression.

91. On 25 February two Nicaraguan fishing boats sank after hitting mines in the neighbourhood of Bluefields. *The New York Times* correspondent Stephen Kinzec quoted officials of the Sandinist Government in his dispatch that day, saying that "the most recent attacks showed an unprecedented level of co-ordina-

tion and training which could only have been supplied by the CIA".

92. We know, of course, that the fact that Mr. William J. Casey, Director of that beneficent branch of the American Government, confidentially told the Armed Services and Intelligence Committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate that the CIA would continue to support the rebels, also known as the Contras, and that for that purpose it would need between $20 million and $50 million this year and another $50 million next year does not at all mean that the United States Government wants to cause any harm to the independent and sovereign Government of a Member State of the United Nations, Nicaragua.

93. Nothing could be further from its pristine objectives. As the representative of the United States said only a few days ago, the fact is that Washington really loves the Miskito Indians and has asked the Contras —those putative sons of Somoza, who did so much for the Nicaraguan aborigines—to destroy the schools, hospitals, bridges and highways built by the Sandinists because it wants to make them literate, educate them, vaccinate them against disease, give them decent housing and facilitate their communication with the other citizens. But that would go against the national philosophy of the great Yankee democracy, which was not only based on the hunting down, extermination and plundering of the Sioux, Pueblos, Comanches, Dakotas and other original inhabitants of that part of the continent, but which also is happy and secure only when, like the blacks in the South African bantustans, the Indians are crammed into "reservations" or into prisons, where, together with the blacks and hispanics, they swell the ranks of the majority element of the regular residents. This is not because of discrimination, which does not exist in this great empire, but because freedom, under which all are equal before the law, persists in playing tricks on them, and, just as the citizens belonging to these "minorities" have more than their proportional share of unemployment, they also have more than their share of "crime" and poverty.

94. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* article says that the counter-revolutionaries

> "operate with a fund of $24 million approved by Congress last year. It is expected that funds will run out in June, and this time the Congress has prohibited the CIA from using its contingency fund, as it has done before, to finance the rebels. This is part of the compromise between the Congress and the Administration to make possible the continuation of the covert operation even after the House of Representatives twice voted in 1983 to end it."

95. The purpose of the so-called covert operation —although the press writes about it every day, only the United States representative seems to believe that it is still secret—is not to overthrow the Government of National Reconstruction but, in the words of the *Inquirer*, "to force it, through pressure, to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards the United States". In other words, it is a question only of forcing, through military, economic, political and diplomatic coercion, this stubborn group of revolutionaries, who insist on being independent, to return to the fold of its trained chorus. This, the Americans would say, is in perfect harmony with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and does not deserve the Council's attention.

96. Neither should we be concerned about the occupation and use of the territory of Honduras for "covert operations" by the Contras or to send CIA operatives to engage in sabotage or to mine Nicaragua's ports. The Granadero I manoeuvres, despite the replacement of General Alvarez by another "friend of the United States", are being held without problems. According to *The Christian Science Monitor*, six landing strips have been built—"five more than approved by Congress". "The Seabees can do"—they certainly can—in Trujillo, in the north, or in the south, 20 miles from Nicaraguan territory.

97. The CIA's military turistic plans are going ahead. According to Martin Francis in *Honduras Update*, Vol. 2, No. 6, of March this year:

> "In order to enlarge the landing strip for the Big Pine II exercises, the Seabees razed the houses and cornfields of the population without compensating them for their losses . . . Others, in Trujillo, complain that prostitution has become a serious problem since Big Pine II began and that the local economy has been seriously damaged."

98. The occupation of Honduras by Yankee forces, recently reinforced by the sending of large naval units and contingents of the 82nd Airborne Division—which invaded Grenada a few months ago—the mining of ports, the violations of Nicaraguan air space and the incursions by Piraña speedboats into Nicaragua's territorial waters are not, as might be thought, the prelude to intervention in that country or in neighbouring El Salvador. On the contrary, these are measures to intimidate the Sandinist Government and to protect the "Made in USA" Salvadoran democratic process with death squads and electoral chaos.

99. Therefore, we should not pay much attention to the message of Honduran delegates of the Word of God to Pope John Paul II, adopted at their national congress on 15 November last year, saying:

> "Wherever we look there are warplanes, strange vehicles described as tanks (but which we have never seen), foreign soldiers and Honduran soldiers who are our sons and brothers, sons of peasants, just like all of us. They want to teach us to hate our brothers, who, they say, are Communists, in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and even in Honduras."

The letter continues:

> "In our fields we have seen only humble, poor people, living in poverty without land to work, without housing, without medical centres, without drinking water, without highways and without light. Many of our children die because of lack of proper food or medicine. And the Word of God obliges us to love, to serve and to build a better world."

The letter concludes:

> "Many of our companions who praise the Word of God and some of the clergy who live with us, sharing our poverty and our hopes, have been arrested and even been killed because they taught us to put the Gospel into practice and to live in our communities in accordance with the teachings of Puebla"—a reference to the Episcopal Conference held in Puebla, Mexico, in 1979—"and of our Honduran bishops".

100. This, I say in passing, is the situation in a "representative democracy", one of those which Washington extols and favours. We are not so sure that those who follow the Word of God will not be described tomorrow by the United States delegation as crypto-Communists or be condemned to perish in one of Mr. Casey's covert, but no longer secret, operations. After all, did not the pathological d'Aubuisson assassinate the Archbishop of San Salvador to safeguard the military, pro-Yankee "democracy", over which he now aspires to preside with the blessing of his friends in the North?

101. The ways of "representative democracy" are mysterious, but simple. Obvious examples are the common fates of the constitutional Governments of Jacobo Arbenz, in Guatemala; Juan Bosch, in the Dominican Republic; and Salvador Allende, in Chile. If the constitutional president undertakes truly sweeping economic and social reforms or changes, Mr. Casey's troopers will seek a willing brass hat and, in the name of "representative democracy", overthrow that president without great ado. If, on the other hand, a tyrannical, oppressive oligarchy is threatened by a people's movement, Mr. Casey, or whoever happens to be on duty, will fasten on a so-called reformist president —even if he is called "Napoleon"—who may ask as soon as possible for a large amount of military aid, advisers by the dozens and—why not?—if necessary for intervention by the Marines from the good old days of gunboat diplomacy and the "big-stick" policy. They are the same Marines, or Marines similar to, those who carried out the Grenada operation and who today parade through the streets of Tegucigalpa in shirts bearing crossed-sword emblems—no doubt from their pirate origins.

102. In conclusion, we are witnessing a demonstration of overt "double-talk", "double-think" and "double-act", and indeed duplicity by the United States Administration, because while, as in the biblical passage, the truth is being shouted from the roof-tops and in the squares when Mr. Casey, Mr. Weinberger, Mr. Iklé and other government officials insist on the need to finance the counter-revolutionary Somozist activities and in general are taking measures in violation of international law—which suggest preparation for a Yankee intervention in El Salvador or in Nicaragua—President Reagan, Secretary of State Shultz and the Permanent Representative at the United Nations proclaim, without blushing, that they advocate the peaceful, negotiated solution proposed by Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, known as the "Contadora initiative".

103. We have read, with renewed interest, the declarations by the Presidents of Mexico and Colombia made during the former's visit to the great Andean country, repeating their unshakeable commitment to a negotiated settlement to resolve the Central American conflicts and calling for an end to the inflow of military forces to the area. This is the meaning of the statements made by President de la Madrid in Brazil and throughout his journey in our America.

104. It is not enough simply rhetorically to endorse Latin America's peace initiative. The Governments of the Contadora Group, inspired as they are by a deep desire to find a genuine solution of their own making for the problems of Central America, must take urgent steps to guarantee that all parties, especially the United States, give real support to their efforts.

105. Military and naval actions aimed at intimidating Nicaragua must cease. The mining of the ports, the violation of borders, the growing military tyranny in Honduras and the interventionist designs of imperialism and any act by any State, within or outside the region, which are contrary to the principles and agreements of the Contadora Group, must end.

106. In our opinion the Council must condemn the escalation of aggression against Nicaragua, must condemn the mining of its ports, which is a serious threat to international navigation and free trade, and the attempts of certain States, whose names don't need to be repeated, to bring about the failure of the Latin American peace initiative while they accuse others of doing the very things they are themselves doing.

107. We are confident that the members of this primary body of the United Nations will not be captivated by the siren songs of those who have gone to our lands to subject them and to plunder them—those who, as Herr Kissinger told Don Gabriel Valdés in a revealing statement that showed his great ignorance of history and his fascist, arrogant essence, believe that we belong to "a south that does not matter, from which nothing important will ever come". We trust the members will adopt a resolution worthy of the principles and objectives that the founders included in the Organization's Charter.

108. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

109. Mr. SAHNOUN (Algeria) [*interpretation from French*]: First of all I should like to convey to you, Sir, the warmest congratulations of the Algerian delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of April. You certainly bring to that position the well-known qualities of a man who understands dialogue and is an experienced diplomat. You have taken over from our friend Mr. Arias Stella of Peru, to whom I should like to express my great appreciation for his excellent guidance of the work of the Council at a time when it had a very heavy agenda.

110. This is the sixth time that Nicaragua has caused the Security Council to study the dangerous situation prevailing along the frontiers of that country, whose people will this year celebrate but the fifth anniversary of the Sandinist revolution.

111. The escalation in military action against the population, the territory and the economic centres of Nicaragua is assuming increasingly alarming proportions. In terms of the means used and the extent of the damage cause, these military actions, increasingly frequent and murderous, in fact have assumed the characteristics of a conventional war, albeit an undeclared one. At the international level they are accompanied by laborious efforts to oversimplify the dimensions of the situation to dull the vigilance of the international community and to ensure that Nicaragua's appeals go unheard, lost in the incredulity of some and the indifference of others. Even if there were still the slightest doubt as to the nature and the gravity of the situation imposed on Nicaragua when its representative in the Security Council reported a series of air attacks against its territory, recent news of the damage caused by mines in several Nicaraguan ports to merchant ships flying different flags and to their crews bears witness to the fact that the violence against Nicaragua is tangible and limitless.

112. This latest development, which is particularly significant in view of its objective and the particularly serious consequences for the national economy of the country and international shipping, is in itself sufficient reason for a strong position to be taken by the Security Council. History both ancient and contemporary tells us of many major conflicts that involved shipping. The definition of aggression that was adopted by consensus by the United Nations General Assembly in 1974, by its resolution 3314 (XXIX), specifically lists the blockade of a State's ports as one of the hostile actions that can be described as "aggression".

113. The spectacular support lent to subversion against this country and the infiltration by armed groups that do not balk at destroying what are basically economic targets and committing crimes against the civilian population prove, were proof necessary, that the target is nothing less than destabilization of the country and indeed of the entire region.

114. Faced with this situation, which carries the seeds of a very perilous development for Central America and for international peace and security, the Security Council would not be rising to the level of its responsibilities unless, on the basis of the established facts, it were to recommend appropriate remedies rather than encourage interminable exchanges of views on the relative virtues of the various economic and social systems.

115. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has constantly been at one with the people of Nicaragua as the threat to the country from outside has intensified. The various organs of the Non-Aligned Movement, including an extraordinary ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau at Managua in January 1983, have constantly called for full respect for the cardinal principles of contemporary international law as regards that country—for example, national sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity, non-interference and non-intervention. In the same way our Movement has constantly lent encouragement to the efforts of the Contadora Group to find the necessary peaceful settlement of the disputes between States of the Central American region, trusting, as we do, in the inherent ability of the peoples of the region together to build the harmonious future to which they aspire.

116. During an earlier debate of the Council on the situation in Central America the Algerian delegation had occasion to point out that, in response to the trust placed in it by Nicaragua, this body had a precious opportunity to implement the resources of diplomacy for preventive action. In its consideration of the situation in Central America the General Assembly, at its thirty-eighth session—at the 53rd meeting, over which I had the honour to preside—adopted resolution 38/10 by consensus, expressing its unwavering commitment in this regard.

117. In that resolution the General Assembly condemned:

> "The attacks launched from outside Nicaragua against that country's strategic installations, such as airports and seaports, energy storage facilities and other targets whose destruction seriously affects the country's economic life and endangers densely populated areas"

and urged:

> "the States of the region and other States to desist or to refrain from initiating military operations intended to exert political pressure, which aggravate the situation in the region and hamper the efforts to promote negotiations that the Contadora Group is undertaking with the agreement of the Governments of Central America".

118. It is important that the dynamics of a search for peace in justice and freedom should immediately replace this uncontrollable cycle of aggressive violence. In this connection, the direct and indirect protagonists in the regional conflict are duty bound to exercise restraint; and morally and politically, those in this body who have a special responsibility in safeguarding international peace and security are all the more duty bound to exercise such restraint.

119. The Security Council must be placed in a position where it can reverse the present course of events so that finally the peoples of Central America will be able to enjoy the fruits of peace and promote their own economic and social development.

120. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Democratic Yemen. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

121. Mr. AL-ALFI (Democratic Yemen) [*interpretation from Arabic*]: We are pleased to see you, Sir, assuming the presidency of the Security Council for this month, especially since you represent a friendly country known for its impartial and constant support for all peoples struggling for freedom and the preservation of their independence in the face of aggressive policies and conspiracies undertaken by the forces of imperialism in various parts of the world. We are confident that, with your wisdom and ability, the Council's work will be crowned with success.

122. I cannot fail to express our appreciation to your predecessor, the representative of Peru, for his wise conduct of the Council's work during his presidency of this body last month.

123. Only yesterday [*2526th meeting*] the Council was seized of the complaint by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya of American provocations aimed at jeopardizing Libya's independence and sovereignty. The delegations which participated in that discussion were unanimous in their strong condemnation of American provocations against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and affirmed their solidarity with that country in the face of the terrorist, aggressive policy pursued by American imperialism against the people of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in the context of the continuous escalation of the Zionist imperialist conspiracy and aggression against our Arab peoples in an attempt to bolster the direct American military presence in the region and to extend American hegemony over it.

124. Today the Council is considering the complaint lodged by Nicaragua against American aggressive practices and policies aimed at undermining Nicaragua's independence and sovereignty and threatening its security and stability.

125. If there is one established fact to be concluded from these discussions and complaints lodged by two States whose peoples have opted for the path of independent socio-economic development it is that the United States Administration is the main source of tension, instability and the undermining of peace in the entire world. That Administration threatens the peace and stability of all peoples yearning for freedom and independence and of the emancipated States which are struggling to consolidate their independence. It commits aggression against sovereign, independent States and declares its hostility towards the aspiration of peoples to independent socio-economic development and political independence.

126. While the main principle of the Charter of the United Nations imposes the obligation not to threaten the sovereignty of other States, their political independence or territorial integrity and provides for the non-use of force, we find that the forces of imperialism, headed by American imperialism, violate this principle in their overall policies of aggression and flagrantly commit acts of invasion and aggression against independent States and struggling peoples. Those forces also seek to undermine world peace, create hotbeds of tension and jeopardize the international situation. As a result of this American policy of aggression, various parts of the world are still suffering from volatile situations.

127. Nicaragua, a peaceable country in Central America which is building its new society in difficult economic conditions, is being subjected to a variety of provocations, threats and military, economic and political pressures by the United States and its lackeys. These acts of provocation and aggression have culminated in the dispatch of American fleets to the Nicaraguan coast, the mining of its ports, the threat of force against the Sandinist revolution, acts of sabotage and military manoeuvres that threaten the security and stability of the Nicaraguan people.

128. The Council has witnessed broad condemnation by the international community of those aggressive operations, which not only contravene the Charter and the principles of international law and constitute a threat to international peace and security, but have resulted in the death of many innocent Nicaraguan citizens and inflicted much material loss on the vital economic infrastructures.

129. While reiterating its solidarity with the people and Government of Nicaragua in the face of American military acts of aggression and provocation, Democratic Yemen calls upon the international community to stand by Nicaragua in confronting all American plots aimed at undermining its independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, and all intervention in its internal affairs. We also condemn any American attempt, directly or through its lackeys of the mercenary remnants of the Somoza régime, to commit aggression against Nicaragua.

130. The Council is called upon to affirm its support for the people and Government of Nicaragua and the

other peoples of Latin America which face threats of military buildup, economic blockade and intervention in their internal affairs by the American Administration, and to put an end to the United States' cynical disregard for the international community and deter its aggressive policy in the service of which it enlists its entire military, political and material potential.

131. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Seychelles. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

132. Ms. GONTHIER (Seychelles): Mr. President, first of all let me say how enormously gratified I am to see you so ably directing the work of the Security Council. I would also like to congratulate the representative of Peru for the diligent manner in which he served as President of the Council last month.

133. The Republic of Seychelles has a tradition of making short statements at the United Nations and keeping to the point. We intend to maintain that tradition.

134. Today I have come once again to denounce the aggressive policy of foreign forces towards Nicaragua characterized by all sorts of threats such as attempts to blockade Nicaragua's coastlines, thereby violating the most basic principles of international law.

135. The people of the Republic of Seychelles depend on the sea for their livelihood and for their survival. If it were not for civilized behaviour in international navigation, we would be strangled. Therefore the news of the mining of Nicaragua's harbours and coastlines, with loss of life and damage to several foreign ships, is of great concern to us. The level of sophisticated equipment and technology employed is alarming. Acts of this sort are disturbing because they always run the risk of retaliation and an ensuing snowball effect causing damage to other ships and aggravating already existing tensions. We would protest no matter what area was being mined, even if it were the Strait of Hormuz. The rule of law, the norms of international law and civilized behaviour must be respected and practised by all members of the international community.

136. Those who are patrolling the Indian Ocean today to guarantee free and safe passage when the peaceful situation there does not warrant protection should, out of a moral obligation, move their ships to Central America in order to implement the concept of the freedom of navigation that they so cherish—freedom of ships of all nations to use the various oceans in peace. The perpetrators of terrorism on the international high seas should be caught and punished.

137. The Republic of Seychelles will continue to support Nicaragua's right to independence, and we ask the Council not only to express its grave concern over the situation in Central America, but also to demand that those responsible for the violation of international law terminate their illegal activities immediately. The Council is charged with the primary responsibility for international peace and security. It should exercise that responsibility.

138. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of El Salvador. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

139. Mr. MARTÍNEZ (El Salvador) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Sir, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council this month. I also express congratulations to Mr. Arias Stella for the very wise manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the Council in March.

140. My Government has always supported the right all countries have to live in peace and security, free from any foreign interference. Accordingly, our concern is directed towards ensuring unreserved respect for the self-determination of our neighbours and at the same time at defending our own right to self-determination in order to lay the bases of the peace and security we all yearn for.

141. Regrettably, the complex situation in Central America makes it difficult to attain this aspiration, which is the inalienable right of peoples. My country has experienced hard and tragic times in striving for this objective, and it has only been able to emerge victorious thanks to the determined and manifest democratic will of the majority of the Salvadorian people and to the assistance, understanding and solidarity offered by friendly countries. That is in contrast to the open foreign intervention, such as that practised by Nicaragua, in our internal affairs, embodied in propagandistic, military and logistic support for the armed groups that in my country are trying to overthrow through the force of arms a legitimately constituted Government based on the sovereign will of the people. Nicaragua, a country whose concern for its own security has given rise to the convening of this meeting of the Council, has repeatedly been denounced by my Government for adopting clearly interventionist attitudes with respect to our internal affairs, seeking to destabilize a Government that has been legitimately elected by the Salvadorian people.

142. We have heard the statement of the representative of Nicaragua where he called our electoral process a "false democratic facade" [*see 2525th meeting, para. 60*]. Such utterances and expressions, that have also come from the highest-ranking Sandinist leaders and have given rise to protests from us, contribute to increasing tension in the area.

143. Nicaragua's position of seeking a special political solution to our internal conflict, as well as constituting a further example of clear interference in our

internal affairs, disregards the people's wish democratically to elect their own leaders, as expressed in the elections on 28 March 1982 and again in a clear demonstration of community spirit in the elections of 25 March last. It also disregards the wish of the Salvadorian people to promote harmony and national understanding by inviting all social and political sectors to participate in the elections as a political formula for the attainment of a peaceful and eminently Salvadorian solution to our own conflict.

144. Therefore we reject the Nicaraguan claim that dialogue with those who have taken up arms on the formation of a government in El Salvador is the solution that would help get to the bottom of the crisis in the region. We believe, on the contrary, that to get to the source of the crisis in the region all foreign interference must cease and Nicaragua must adopt a respectful, conciliatory attitude and put an end to its support for the guerrilla groups.

145. As palpable proof of the validity of our arguments we should like to mention that only last month the Government of El Salvador sent various protest notes to Managua rejecting the disobliging statements made with regard to the elections in our country by the President of the Council of State and by the Minister of Defence. We made a formal protest with regard to the statements of support for the Salvadorian guerrilla activities made by Commander Henry Ruiz. The recent statement by the Nicaraguan Minister of Defence with regard to the laying of sound-activated mines in the region's ports, from Panama to Guatemala, by members of Central American movements has also been met with a protest from our Government, which has once again denounced the close linkage in co-ordination and logistics that exists between guerrilla groups and the Sandinist Government.

146. It is obvious that, in addition to contributing to deepening the climate of distrust in Central America, the political manoeuvres and statements of that Government are aimed at disguising the social deterioration and the serious economic situation that prevails inside Nicaragua, one that, as we all know, is the result of failure to abide by the political and democratic commitments made to the Organization of American States in 1979 and of the monopoly on political and military power held by the Sandinist leaders.

147. El Salvador has on a number of occasions adopted a cautious and watchful attitude with regard to the hostile conduct of the Sandinist Government towards the Salvadorian Government. Nevertheless, we should like to take this opportunity to inform the Sandinist Government that before it sets forth solutions to the internal conflicts in other countries it should try to find formulas that can enable it to solve its own social conflict.

148. The Government of El Salvador wishes to state that peace is an aspiration of society that is built up day by day and that there is a need for awareness and firm determination on the part of its leaders to achieve and preserve that peace. With this thought in mind we have agreed to the dialogue proposed by the countries of the Contadora Group, and we are working hard within the Technical Group to achieve agreement on the 21 points in the Document of Objectives [*S/16041, annex*], which include the objective to "promote national reconciliation efforts wherever deep divisions have taken place within society, with a view to fostering participation in democratic political processes in accordance with the law". The 21 points also envisage a broad range of measures to bring peace to the region, such as to "prevent the installation on their territory of foreign military bases or any other type of foreign interference" and to "establish internal control machinery to prevent the traffic in arms from the territory of any country in the region to the territory of another".

149. We regret Nicaragua's continuing efforts to disregard the Contadora forum by convening this world body, which has also lent its support to the regional efforts for peace, for all Nicaragua's fears and claims can be dealt with in discussions within the Contadora Group. We would urge Nicaragua to strengthen that regional body and to adopt a conciliatory attitude as a way towards resolving our problems.

150. El Salvador does not support the draft resolution that has been unofficially circulated and that has been put forward exclusively by Nicaragua.

151. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Ethiopia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

152. Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): Let me begin by offering you, Sir, the sincere felicitations of the Ethiopian delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of April. While expressing to you my best wishes for a successful tenure, I should like to convey, through you, our equally sincere congratulations to the representative of Peru for the brilliant manner in which he steered the work of the Council last month.

153. Whenever military threats and acts of aggression against it from the all-too-familiar sources are escalated, Nicaragua invariably brings its case to the Security Council. This time too, the situation is no different. The recent mining of the sea ports of Nicaragua, which has so far caused loss of life and extensive material damage, constitutes both an escalation of the conflict and a virtual blockade of the country. With his customary eloquence and lucidity, and supported by ample evidence, the representative of Nicaragua has explained to the Council this serious development and the overall situation in Central America. He has indeed expounded a case based on justice and reason.

154. Unfortunately, however, the responses to that statement have not even attempted to address them-

selves to the charges, let alone disprove them. Instead, the responses have attempted to divert attention from the charges by focusing on issues that have little or no relevance to the substance of the debate and fall exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of Nicaragua. Once again we have been told that the Government of Nicaragua has failed to fulfil its promise to hold free elections and "restore democracy". If such a promise was ever made it could only be made to the Nicaraguan people, and the legitimate right to demand the fulfilment of such a promise could only come from the Nicaraguan people. No other Government, however powerful, could possibly substitute for the people of Nicaragua in this regard or claim guardianship over their interests. What we saw last Friday in this Council was therefore nothing but a confrontation between reason and power.

155. Today Nicaragua is facing internally the destructive and murderous activities of the counter-revolutionary bandits organized, financed, trained and armed by the Government of the United States. Externally, in addition to many economic and financial pressures, it is also confronted with the ever-present threat of invasion by the armed forces of the United States and Honduras. The continuing so-called joint military manoeuvres by the United States and Honduras not only pose an increasing danger to the peace and stability of Nicaragua but, indeed, give military manoeuvres new dimensions and added objectives. Thus, in our times military manoeuvres can no longer be considered as mere exercises in military preparedness but have, regrettably, come to represent a sophisticated form of pressure and intimidation.

156. What is more regrettable, however, is the willing and active participation of the Government of Honduras in such lawlessness. Honduras today is one vast military base with a network of military camps, depots, airfields and numerous other installations, the political objectives of which are none other than the forcible overthrow of the legitimate Government of Nicaragua. That the Government of one developing country, whose people have such strong historic and cultural ties, face similar problems of under-development and share common aspirations with the people of Nicaragua, could collude with a super-Power against a small and weak neighbour is, I submit, a historic mistake. And, as such, the judgement of history is bound to weigh heavily upon those responsible.

157. To put things in their proper perspective we have to realize that Nicaragua is not the only target of imperialist military intervention; nor will it be the last so long as imperial ambitions for world domination persist and so long as the rule of law and the just causes of the peoples of the developing world continue to be subordinate to the perceived strategic objectives of the powerful. We in Ethiopia consider the threat facing Nicaragua as a threat to our own country and people. We sympathize and empathize with their concerns, for we also could face similar problems and could be menaced by the same powerful adversary. We therefore not only extend our solidarity to the people and Government of fraternal Nicaragua but also vehemently condemn all acts of subversion, aggression and intimidation against that country.

158. We would have liked the Security Council, in the discharge of its primary responsibility for international peace and security, to play a more active and positive role in regard to the many complaints brought to its attention by the Government of Nicaragua. While we acknowledge the positive influence the debates in the Council have had on public support for the Nicaraguan cause, there is no gainsaying the fact that the Council has yet to adopt a meaningful measure to dissuade those responsible from threatening and using force in Central America, particularly against Nicaragua. That, of course, is not without a cause: the very membership of the United States in this body, as it has done in numerous other instances, has paralysed the Council and prevented it from taking any action.

159. Furthermore, the United States, with its immense political, economic and military power and influence, has also partially succeeded in halting the Contadora process, its verbal support for the Contadora Group and the Contadora process notwithstanding. This is indeed very regrettable. The Governments of the Contadora Group need all the support they can get. We urge them not to despair; we encourage them instead to harness their collective will and weight and to advance the peace process they have so courageously launched. We also appeal to all the parties to the conflict in Central America, particularly the Government of the United States, to give the peace process their genuine support and collaboration.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.

NOTE

[1] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1* (A/37/1).